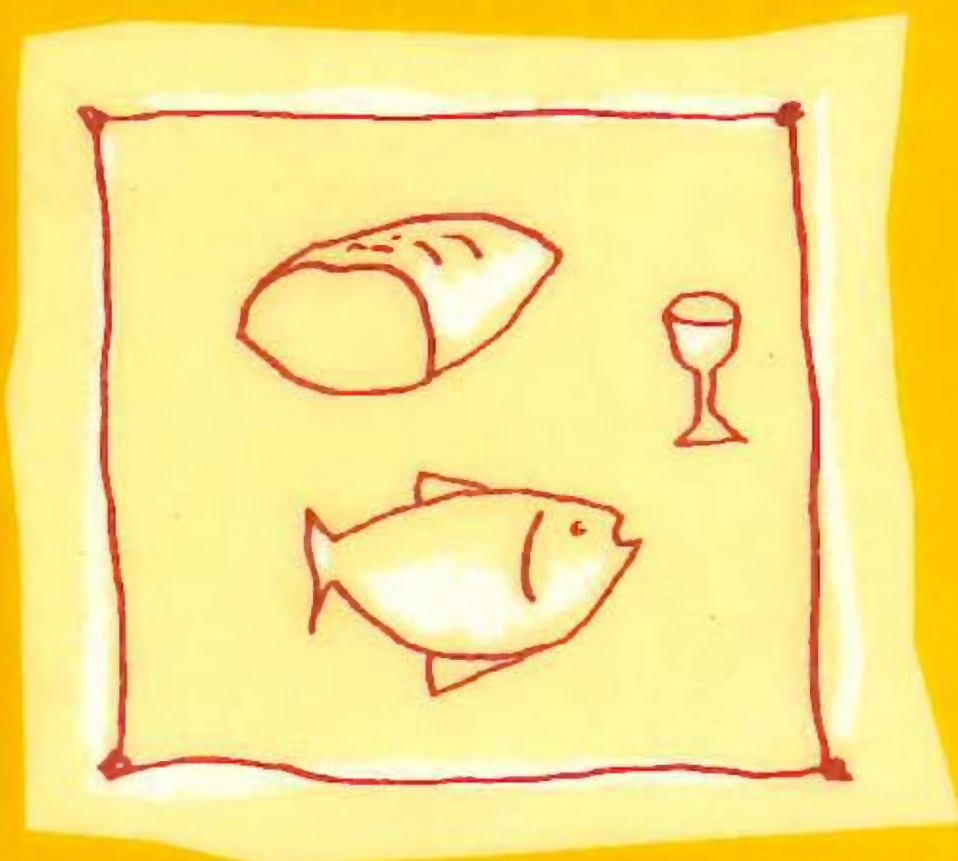


SPCK Church History

CREEDS, COUNCILS AND CONTROVERSIES

*Documents illustrating the history of
the Church, AD 337-461*



J. Stevenson

NEW EDITION

Revised by W.H.C. Frend

A Companion to
A NEW EUSEBIUS and
DOCTRINE AND
PRACTICE IN THE
EARLY CHURCH



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of the Church AD 337-461*

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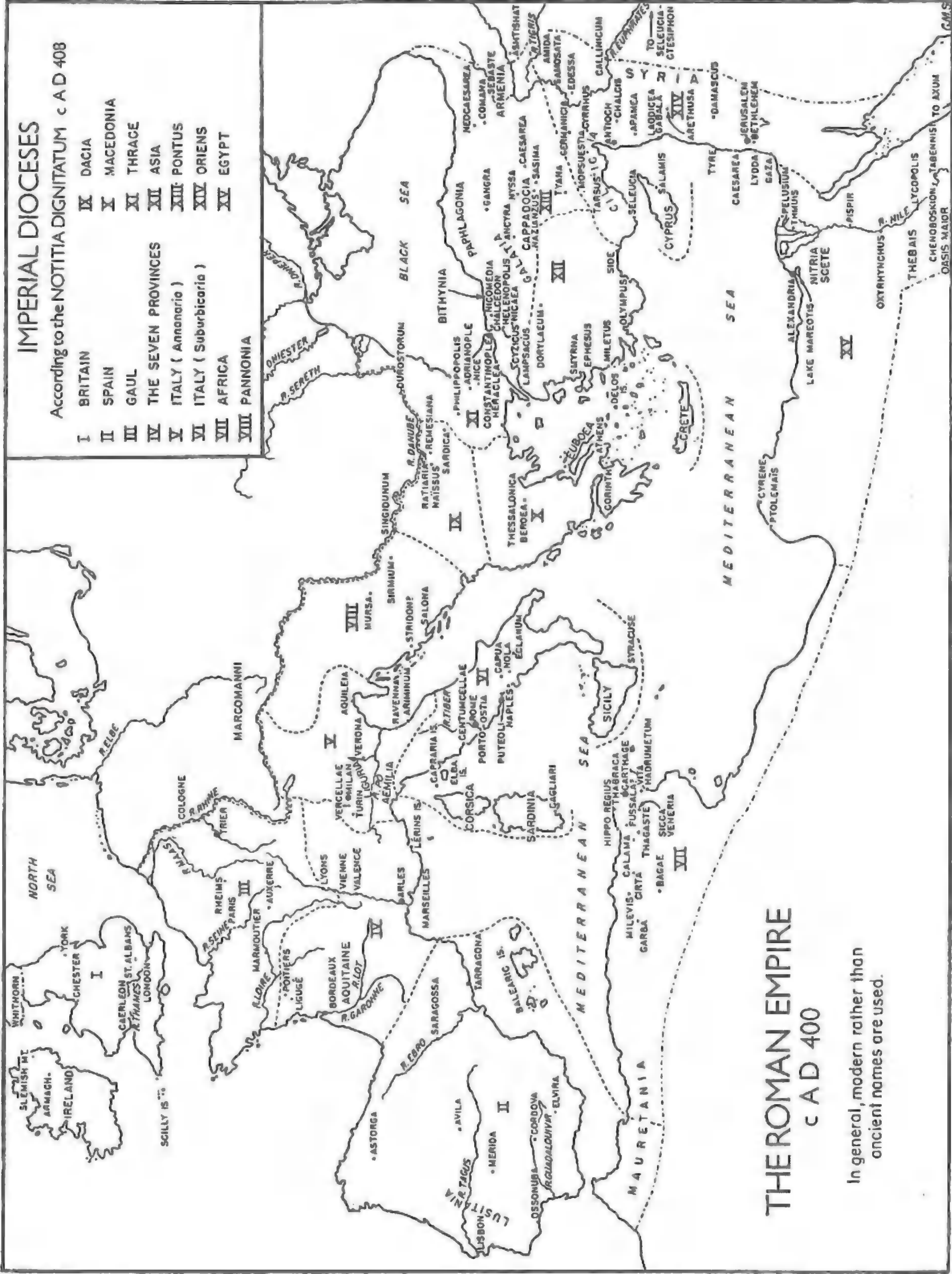
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Preface to the First Edition

The multiplicity and complexity of the sources available for the fourth and fifth centuries AD render a selection of documents for this period a harder task than for the period up to Constantine the Great. I am conscious that much could have been added, and that certain topics and individuals have not received the attention that they merit.

The present volume is intended to be a successor to Vol. II of the late B. J. Kidd's *Documents*, published in 1923. It is arranged in the same way as *A New Eusebius*.

I am very grateful to Dr W. H. C. Frend, Fellow of Gonville and Caius College, who has read the proofs, and has also been of great assistance in matters affecting Western Christianity. I wish also to thank Mrs N. K. Chadwick for help in the passages dealing with the Celtic Church. Finally, I am much indebted to the publishers and the printers for the care and interest that they have taken in the production of the book.

J. Stevenson

*Downing College
Cambridge 1966*

Preface to the New Edition

Creeds, Councils and Controversies has for the last twenty years proved its worth as the sequel to *A New Eusebius*. As the editor pointed out, however, the multiplicity and complexity of the sources for the period 337–451 rendered the selection of documents far more difficult than for the early period of Church history. In practice it has been found that, while the documents have been excellently chosen and no important theme has been omitted, they have not always been arranged in a way easiest for students to use. Though the order was mainly chronological, themes would sometimes be interrupted by documents relating to a different subject and cohesion lost in consequence.

The main task of revision has therefore been to reorganize the editor's selection into sections each devoted to a particular subject or personality. Thus, all the documents relating to Jerome have been grouped together, and similarly those recounting the controversies in which Augustine or Cyril of Alexandria were involved. Few documents have been omitted, but thirty-eight have been added, either to illustrate aspects of thought and teaching of individuals, such as the Cappadocian Fathers, which had not been represented fully, or to provide connecting material to clarify a sequence of events, such as Nestorius' reply to Cyril's Second Letter, or Eutyches' trial before Archbishop Flavian and the Home Synod of Constantinople in November 448.

In making these additions I have been able to use Henry Bettenson's *The Later Christian Fathers* (OUP 1970, 1984), Maurice Wiles and Mark Santer's *Documents in Early Christian Thought* (CUP 1975, 1979), and L. R. Wickham's excellent edition of *Cyril of Alexandria: Selected Letters* (Oxford Early Christian Texts, OUP 1983). I owe to Professor Stuart Hall the translation of Nestorius' reply to Cyril.

A short bibliography of relevant works published in English since 1966 has been added, and readers are recommended, in particular, Frances Young's book *From Nicaea to Chalcedon*, Fortress Press 1983, as a concise commentary on the sources for this period. Stevenson's footnotes have been retained so far as possible, but updated where necessary.

Finally, I would like to thank the staff of SPCK for their help and encouragement in preparing this new edition of a friend and colleague's fine contribution to the historical study of the early Church.

Barnwell Rectory
Peterborough
1988

W. H. C. Frend

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Abbreviations and Conventions

ACO	<i>Acta Conciliorum Oecumenicorum</i> , ed. E. Schwartz
ACW	Ancient Christian Writers
ANCL	Ante-Nicene Christian Library
Bethune-Baker, <i>Introduction</i>	J. F. Bethune-Baker, <i>An Introduction to the Early History of Christian Doctrine</i>
Bettenson, <i>DCC</i>	Henry Bettenson, tr., <i>Documents of the Christian Church</i>
Bettenson, <i>LCF</i>	Henry Bettenson, tr., <i>The Later Christian Fathers</i>
Bindley-Green	<i>The Oecumenical Documents of the Faith</i> , T. H. Bindley, ed., revised by F. W. Green
Bright, <i>Canons</i>	<i>Canons of the First Four General Councils</i>
CSEL	<i>Corpus Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum Latinorum</i>
D'Alton, <i>Chrysostom</i>	J. F. D'Alton, ed., <i>Selections from St John Chrysostom</i>
DCA	<i>Dictionary of Christian Antiquities</i>
DCB	<i>Dictionary of Christian Biography</i>
DTC	<i>Dictionnaire de Théologie catholique</i>
GCS	<i>Die Griechischen christlichen Schriftsteller der ersten drei Jahrhunderte</i>
Giles, <i>Documents</i>	E. Giles, <i>Documents illustrating Papal Authority, AD 96–454</i>
HE	<i>Historia Ecclesiastica</i> (Bede, Eusebius, Socrates, Sozomen, Theodoret)
Hefele-Leclercq	<i>Histoire des Conciles</i>
JHS	<i>Journal of Hellenic Studies</i>
JRS	<i>Journal of Roman Studies</i>
JTS (NS)	<i>Journal of Theological Studies</i> (New Series)
E. J. Jonkers	<i>Acta et Symbola Conciliorum quae saeculo quarto habita sunt</i>
Kelly, <i>Creeds</i>	J. N. D. Kelly, <i>Early Christian Creeds</i>
Kelly, <i>Doctrines</i>	J. N. D. Kelly, <i>Early Christian Doctrines</i>
Kidd, <i>Documents</i>	B. J. Kidd, <i>Documents illustrative of the History of the Church</i> , Vol. II
LF	Library of the Fathers
Lietzmann	H. Lietzmann, <i>Symbols of the Ancient Church</i>

Mansi, <i>Concilia</i>	J. D. Mansi, <i>Sacrorum Conciliorum nova et amplissima Collectio</i>
<i>MGH</i>	<i>Monumenta Germaniae Historica</i>
<i>NER</i>	<i>A New Eusebius</i> , J. Stevenson, ed., revised with additional documents by W. H. C. Frend
NPNF	Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers
<i>PG</i>	Migne, <i>Patrologia Graeca</i>
<i>PL</i>	Migne, <i>Patrologia Latina</i>
Pharr	Clyde Pharr, <i>The Theodosian Code</i>

Square brackets are used to indicate paraphrased passages or editorial insertions in the documents.

Except where otherwise specified, italic type is used to indicate direct quotations from Scripture in the documents.

Each passage is *preceded* by a reference to its original source or sources.

Each passage is immediately *followed* by a reference to the source or sources of the English version.

I *The Sons of Constantine, AD 337–40*

I The Return of Athanasius, 337

Letter of Constantine II in Socrates, *HE*, II.3.1–4; Athanasius, *Apol. c. Arianos*, 87; Sozomen, *HE*, III.2; Theodoret, *HE*, II.2.1–4

- 1 Constantine Caesar to the members of the Catholic Church of the Alexandrians.

It cannot, I think, have escaped the knowledge of your devout minds, that Athanasius, the expositor of the venerated law, has been sent opportunely unto the Gauls, lest he should sustain some irreparable injury from the perverseness of wicked men, since the ferocity of his blood-thirsty adversaries continually endangered his
2 sacred life. To evade this perverseness, therefore, he was taken from the jaws of the men who threatened him into a city under our jurisdiction, where, as long as it was his appointed residence, he has been abundantly supplied with every necessity: although his distinguished virtue trusting in divine aid will make light of the
3 burdens of a more rigorous fortune. And since our sovereign, my father, Constantine Augustus of blessed memory, had determined to restore this bishop to his proper place, and to your most sanctified piety, but was anticipated by the common lot of mankind and died before he accomplished his desire, I have deemed it proper to carry his wishes into effect, having inherited the task from our Emperor of
4 divine memory. With how great veneration he has been regarded by us, you will learn on his arrival among you; nor need anyone be surprised at the reverence he has gained from us, since we have been alike moved and influenced by the knowledge of your affectionate solicitude respecting him, and by the actual presence of a man like him. May Divine Providence preserve you, beloved brethren. (NPNF(Socrates), altered.)

Athanasius had been sent into exile at Trier early in 336, after the council of Tyre and an ineffective appeal to the Emperor (*NER* 302–303). But the ultimate charge against him was an (alleged) threat to stop the corn ships from sailing to Constantinople from Alexandria. Athanasius says (*loc. cit.*) that Constantine saw through this accusation. ‘As soon as Constantine I died his sons pardoned all bishops exiled in their father’s reign and restored them to their sees’ (T. D. Barnes, *Eusebius and Constantine*, p. 263).

1. *his bloody-thirsty adversaries*: Theodoret, *HE*, I.30, makes out that Athanasius had been taken into ‘protective custody’ at Tyre.

His journey back to Alexandria was very slow. The Eastern council of Sardica (Hilary, *Frag. Hist.*, III.8 (CSEL, LXV, pp. 54–5)—a biased source—put a sinister interpretation on his journey: ‘He subverted the Church during

the whole of his journey home: he restored some bishops who had been condemned, he promised some the hope of restoration to the episcopate . . .'

The rule of the three Emperors came to an end in 340, when Constantine II invaded the dominions of his brother Constans, but was defeated and killed near Aquileia. From 340 to 350 Constans was ruler of the Western provinces and his younger brother Constantius II of the Eastern.

Constans favoured Athanasius while Constantius supported the views of the two Eusebii who had served his father in the Eastern episcopate opposed to Athanasius.

2 Canons of Gangra, c. 340 (?)

Text in Hefele-Leclercq, I.ii, pp. 1029-45; in Jonkers, pp. 81-5

Gangra is in Paphlagonia, and the letter accompanying the canons is addressed to the clergy of Armenia. The faults alleged against Eustathius and his followers in the letter are illustrated by the canons.

The dates of this council are much disputed, and various years from 340 to 376 have found support, cf., for example, Hefele-Leclercq, op. cit., pp. 1029-30; Gwatkin, *Studies of Arianism*, pp. 189-92. The canons are concerned with defeating the errors of Eustathius and his party. The Eustathians concerned were extreme ascetics; their leader was later to become bishop of Sebaste in Armenia Minor. On the varied career of Eustathius see, for example, *DTC*, s.v. Eustathe de Sébaste.

- 1 If anyone despises wedlock, abhorring and blaming the woman who sleeps with her husband, even if she is a believer and devout, as if she could not enter the Kingdom of God, let him be anathema.

Canon 14 is directed against women who similarly leave their husbands.

- 3 If anyone teaches a slave, under pretext of piety, to despise his master, to forsake his service, and not to serve him with goodwill and all respect, let etc.
- 4 If anyone maintains that, when a married priest offers the sacrifice, no one should take part in the service, let etc.
- 5 If anyone teaches that the House of God is to be despised, and likewise the assemblies there held, let etc.

Canon 6 forbids services held *in contempt of the Church* and without the presence of a presbyter *with authority from the bishop*.

- 9 If anyone lives unmarried or practises continence, avoiding marriage with abhorrence, and not because of the beauty and holiness of virginity, let etc.
- 11 If anyone despise those who in faith observe the *agape*, and for the honour of the Lord invite their brethren, and refuses to take part in these invitations because he lightly esteems the matter, let etc.

Not the *agape* of the primitive church, but meals to which rich Christians invited other Christians.

- 12 If anyone from pretended asceticism wears the philosopher's cloak, and, as if he were thereby made righteous, despises those who wear ordinary coats and make use of other such clothing as is everywhere customary, let etc.

Philosopher's cloak: περιβόλαιον, *pallium*, Socrates, *HE*, II.43.1 says that Eustathius wore this garb.

ordinary coats: βῆροι, *lacernae*.

- 18 If anyone, from supposed asceticism, fasts on Sunday, let etc.

fasts on Sunday: for example, the Priscillianists did so, cf. 127 below.

The next canon, 19, is directed against those who neglected the fasts observed by the whole Church.

- 20 If anyone out of pride regards with abhorrence the assemblies of the martyrs and the services there held, or the commemoration of the martyrs, let etc. (E. F. Morrison, *St Basil and his Rule*, App. C.)

regards with abhorrence: most martyrs had been ordinary people, not ascetics.
assemblies of the martyrs: the reference may be to *martyria*, commemorative buildings.

We write thus not to cut off those in the Church of God who wish to practise an ascetic life according to the Scriptures, but those who undertake the profession of asceticism in a spirit of pride against those who live more simply, and are exalted in spirit and introduce novelties contrary to the Scriptures and the rules of the Church.

3 Persecution in Persia, c. 340: Martyrdom of Symeon, Catholicus of Persia

Sozomen, *HE*, II.9.1–5; 10.1–2

- 9.1 When, in course of time, the Christians in Persia increased in number and began to form churches and appointed bishops and deacons, the Magi, who had from time immemorial acted as guardians of the Persian religion, became deeply incensed against them. It annoyed the Jews also, who through a sort of natural envy, are opposed to the Christian religion utterly. They therefore brought accusations before Sapor, the reigning sovereign, against Symeon, who was then archbishop of Seleucia and Ctesiphon, the capitals of Persia, and charged him with being a friend of the Caesar of the Romans, and with communicating the affairs of the Persians to him.

- 2 Sapor believed these slanders, and at first ground down the Christians with oppressive taxes although he knew that the generality of them had voluntarily embraced poverty. He appointed cruel men to exact these taxes, hoping that, compelled by the want of necessities, and the atrocity of the tax-gatherers, they might abjure their religion;

for this was his aim. Afterwards, however, he commanded that the priests and ministers of God should be slain with the sword. The churches were demolished, their vessels were deposited in the treasury, and Symeon was arrested as a traitor to the kingdom and the religion of the Persians.

3 Thus, the Magi with the co-operation of the Jews quickly destroyed the houses of prayer. Symeon, on his apprehension, was bound with chains and brought before the king. There he evinced the excellence and firmness of his character; for when Sapor commanded that he should be led away to torture, he did not fear and would not prostrate himself.

4 The king, greatly exasperated, demanded why he did not prostrate himself as he had done formerly. Symeon replied, 'Formerly I was not led away bound, in order that I might abjure the true God, and therefore did not then object to pay the customary respect to royalty; but now it would not be proper for me to do so; for I stand here in defence of godliness and of our faith.'

5 When he ceased speaking, the king commanded him to worship the sun; promising, as an inducement, to give many gifts to him, and to raise him to honour; but if he refused, he threatened to destroy him and the whole body of Christians.

When the king found that promises and menaces were alike unavailing, and that Symeon firmly refused to worship the sun, or to betray his religion, he commanded him to be put in bonds, probably imagining that, if kept for a time in bonds, he would change his mind . . .

10.1 . . . The following day, which happened to be the sixth day of the week, and likewise the day on which, as immediately preceding the festival of the resurrection, the annual memorial of the passion of the Saviour is celebrated, the king issued orders for the decapitation of Symeon; for he had been again conducted to the palace from the prison, had reasoned most nobly with Sapor about the faith, and had expressed his determination never to worship either the king or the sun.

2 On the same day, a hundred other prisoners were ordered to be slain. Symeon beheld their execution, and last of all he was put to death. Amongst the victims were bishops, presbyters, and other clergy of different grades. (NPNF, altered.)

9.1 *Sapor* (Shapur): the second, king from 309 to 379. The persecution broke out soon after Constantine's death in 337.

a friend of the Caesar, etc.: owing to the almost constant hostility of Rome and Persia, Christians could be regarded as 'fifth columnists'. Constantine the Great had written to Sapor (Eus. *VC*, IV.9-13) on their behalf.

Sozomen's source for *HE*, II.9-14 which deals with this persecution of the Christians 'must be some early translation of *Acta Persarum*, which the Syrians, especially those of Edessa, made' (NPNF, ad loc.).

2 *The Papacy, the Easterners and Athanasius to 348*

4 Julius I of Rome, on the Exiled Bishops, 340

Julius, *ap.* Athanasius, *Apol. c. Arianos*, 35

The long letter of Julius to the Eusebians (Athanasius, *Apol. c. Arianos*, 20–35) is a recapitulation of the charges brought against Athanasius and Marcellus of Ancyra, as they have been stated by the accused, and by many other Eastern bishops and presbyters (Ch. 33), who had fled or come to the West, and also an announcement that Athanasius and Marcellus (and presumably others) had been admitted to communion at Rome.

... Let us grant the 'removal', as you write, of Athanasius and Marcellus from their own places; yet what must one say of the case of the other bishops and presbyters who, as I said before, came here from various places, and complained that they also had been forced away, and had suffered the like injuries? O dearly beloved, the decisions of the Church are no longer according to the Gospel, but tend furthermore to banishment and death. Supposing, as you assert, that some offence rested upon these persons, the case ought to have been conducted against them, not after this manner, but according to the Canon of the Church. Word should have been written of it to us all, that so a just sentence might proceed from all. For the sufferers were bishops, and churches of no ordinary note, but those which the Apostles themselves had governed in their own persons.

And why was nothing written to us concerning the church of the Alexandrians in particular? Are you ignorant that the custom has been for word to be written first to us, and then for a just sentence to be passed from this place? If, then, any such suspicion rested upon the bishop there, notice thereof ought to have been sent to the church of this place; whereas, after neglecting to inform us, and proceeding on their own authority, as they pleased, they further desire to obtain our concurrence in their decisions, though we never condemned him. Not so have the constitutions of Paul, not so have the traditions of the Fathers directed. This is another form of procedure, and this practice is new. I beg you, bear readily with me: what I write is for the common good. What we have received from the blessed Apostle Peter, that I signify to you. (NPNF, altered.)

those that the Apostles have governed: the Church of Alexandria was supposed to have been founded by Mark ('apostle' is used loosely), the Church of Ancyra (in Galatia) is supposed to be connected with Paul.

the Church of the Alexandrians: Julius must be thinking back to the controversy between the two Dionysii in the previous century, cf. Athanasius, *De Synodis*, 43: 'But when some blamed the bishop of Alexandria to the bishop of Rome, because he said that the Son was a creature, and not of one substance with the Father, the synod at Rome took these views ill' (NER 225–226).

5 Marcellus of Ancyra and the Roman Creed

Epiphanius, *Haer.* 72.2.1–3.5

- 2.1 To his most blessed fellow servant Julius, Marcellus sends greeting in Christ.

Since certain persons, formerly condemned for wrong belief, whom I refuted at the council of Nicaea, have dared to write to your Religiousness against me, as holding views that are not correct, or in accordance with the Church, in their desire to impute to me what is alleged against themselves, I thought it necessary when I came to Rome to suggest to you that you should send for them to enable me to refute them in their own presence on two counts: (*a*) the falsity of their accusations against me; (*b*) their continuance in their own error and their impudent attacks against the Churches of God and against us who preside over them.

- 3 Since they refused to come after you sent presbyters to them, and that too after I had remained in Rome for a year and three months in all, I decided, in view of my impending departure, to put in writing for you a statement of the faith that I hold in all sincerity, which I learnt and was taught from Holy Scripture. I must also put you in mind of their evil statements, to let you know the expressions they use to deceive their hearers and conceal the truth. For they say that the Son, our Lord Jesus Christ, is not 'the peculiar and true Word of Almighty God, but is a second Word of his, a second Wisdom and Power. The Son, begotten by the Father, has been named Word, Wisdom and Power', but through this way of thinking they say that he is 'another *hypostasis* distinct from the Father'. Furthermore they show that in *their* view the Father existed before the Son; and that 'he is not truly Son from God'. But even if they use the expression 'from God', they mean that he is so in the same sense as all things are. They also dare to say that, 'There was when he was not and that he is a creature and something made', separating him from the Father. I am completely convinced that those who say this are strangers to the Catholic Church.

- 6 But following the Holy Scriptures I believe that there is One God and his only begotten Son or Word, who ever exists with the Father and has never in any sense had a beginning of existence, truly having

his being from God, not created, not made, but ever being with, ever reigning with God and the Father, *of whose kingdom*, according to the testimony of the apostle, *there shall be no end*.¹ He is Son, he is Power, he is Wisdom; he is the peculiar and true Word of God, our Lord Jesus Christ, inseparable from God, through whom all things were made, that were made as the Gospel testifies saying: *In the beginning was the Word, and the Word was with God, and the Word was God. All things were made by him and without him was not anything made*.² This is the Word, about whom Luke the evangelist also bears witness, saying, *even as they delivered unto us who from the beginning were eyewitnesses and ministers of the Word*.³ About him David also spoke: *My heart has uttered a good Word*.⁴ So also does our Lord Jesus Christ teach us through the Gospel saying, *I came forth from the Father and am come*.⁵ He in the last days came down for our salvation, and, born from the Virgin Mary, assumed manhood.

3.1 'I believe then in God Almighty and in Christ Jesus his only begotten Son, our Lord, who was born from the Holy Spirit and the Virgin Mary, who was crucified under Pontius Pilate and buried and on the third day rose from the dead, ascended into the heavens, and is sitting at the right hand of the Father, from whence he is coming to judge living and dead, and in the Holy Ghost, the Holy Church, the remission of sins, the resurrection of the flesh, eternal life.'

We have learned from the Holy Scriptures that the godhead of the Father and the Son is indivisible. For if anyone separates the Son, i.e. the Word, from Almighty God, he must either think that there are two Gods (and this has been judged to be foreign to the divine teaching) or confess that the Word is not God (and this also is manifestly alien to the correct faith, since the evangelist says, *And the Word was God*⁶).

But I have accurately learned that the power of the Father, i.e. the Son, is indivisible and inseparable. For the Saviour himself, the Lord Jesus Christ says, *The Father is in me and I am in the Father*,⁷ and *I and the Father are one*,⁸ and *He that hath seen me hath seen the Father*,⁹ I have received this faith from the Holy Scriptures, and was taught it by our fathers in God, and I preach it in the Church of God, and I have now written it to you.

I have retained a copy of it beside me, and I ask you to include the copy of this in a letter to the bishops in order that some who do not know my views accurately, and give too great heed to what my opponents write, may not be deceived. Farewell.

With Marcellus' letter cf. Julius of Rome, *ap. Athanasius, Apol. c. Arianos*, 32–5 (4 above, in part).

2.2 *When I came to Rome*: Marcellus had presumably been restored to Ancyra

¹ Not *the apostle* but Luke 1.33

² John 1.1–3

³ Luke 1.2

⁴ Ps. 45.1

⁵ John 8.42

⁶ John 1.1

⁷ John 10.38

⁸ John 10.30

⁹ John 14.9

after the death of Constantine, and then ejected about the same time as Athanasius left Alexandria. He was vindicated at Rome in the autumn of 340 and may be presumed to have arrived there in the summer of 339.

3. *You sent presbyters*: Elpidius and Philoxenus, carrying to the Eusebians a summons to a council at Rome.

4. *another hypostasis*: this is the important point: the Eusebians said that there were three *hypostases* in the Trinity; on the Western insistence on *one hypostasis* cf. 8 below.

5. *from God*: cf. Antioch 4 (6 below), and section 6 below for Marcellus' own declaration *truly having his being from God*.

6. *of whose kingdom there shall be no end*: yet it is on this point, here admitted by Marcellus, that the creeds of Antioch opposed him unequivocally; cf. 6 below.

3.1. The creed quoted by Marcellus to prove his own right belief appears to be the Roman Creed, than which he could quote nothing more appropriate to Julius. See Kelly, *Creeds*, pp. 102–10.

eternal life: not in the Roman Creed, as reconstructed from Rufinus, *In Symbolum Apostolorum*.

6 The Council of Antioch, 341

In the summer or autumn of 341 there assembled at Antioch a council of about ninety-seven bishops (Sozomen *HE*, III.5; Socrates, *HE*, II.8.3 says 'ninety') all from the Eastern Provinces. It was attended by the Emperor Constantius II, and its occasion was the dedication of the 'Golden Church' which Constantine had begun to build at Antioch. But the assembled bishops, in view of their controversy with the Western Church, took the opportunity of discussing doctrine. Four documents are associated with this council, of which only the ones generally numbered 1 and 2 emanate from *the whole council*; 3 is the creed of Theophronius of Tyana, who had probably been accused of heresy; and 4 was drawn up by a committee of bishops some months afterwards.

ANTIOCH I

Athanasius, *De Synodis*, 22; Socrates, *HE*, II.10.4–8;
Lietzmann, *Symbols*, pp. 22–3

4 We have neither become followers of Arius—for how should we who
are bishops follow a presbyter?—nor have we embraced any other faith
5 than that which was set forth from the beginning. But being
constituted examiners and judges of this faith, we admitted him to
communion rather than followed him: and you will recognize this from
what we are about to state.

6 We have learned from the beginning to believe in one God, the God
of the universe, the Creator and Administrator of all things both those
7 intelligible and those perceived by the senses: and in one only-begotten
Son of God before all ages, subsisting and co-existing with

the Father who begat him, through whom also all things visible and invisible were made; who in the last days according to the Father's good pleasure, descended, and assumed flesh from the holy Virgin, and having fully accomplished all his Father's will, suffered, and rose again, and ascended into the heavens, and is sitting at the right hand of the Father; and is coming to judge the living and the dead, and
8 continues King and God for ever. We believe also in the Holy Spirit. And if it is necessary to add this, we believe also concerning the resurrection of the flesh, and the life everlasting. (NPNF (Socrates), altered, with acknowledgements to J. N. D. Kelly, *Creeds*, p. 265.)

ANTIOCH 2

Athanasius, *ibid.*, 23; Socrates, *HE*, *ibid.*, 10–18; Lietzmann, *ibid.*, pp. 23–4; in Latin in Hilary, *De Synodis*, 29.

We believe, conformably to the evangelical and apostolical tradition, in one God, the Father Almighty, the Framer and Maker and Governor of the Universe, from Whom are all things.

11 And in one Lord Jesus Christ, his Son, only-begotten God, by whom are all things, who was begotten before the ages from the Father, God from God, whole from whole, sole from sole, perfect from perfect, King from King, Lord from Lord, Living Word, Living Wisdom, True Light, Way, Truth, Resurrection, Shepherd, Door, both unalterable and unchangeable; *exact Image of the Godhead*,¹ Substance, Will, Power and Glory of the Father: *the firstborn of all creation*,² who was *in the beginning with God*, God the Word, as it is
12 written in the Gospel, *and the Word was God*;³ by whom all things were made, and *in whom all things consist*;⁴ who in the last days, descended from above, and was born of a Virgin, according to the Scriptures, and became Man, mediator between God and men, and Apostle of our faith, and Prince of life, as he says, *I came down from heaven, not to do my own will but the will of him that sent me*;⁵ who suffered for us and rose again on the third day, and ascended into heaven and sat down on the right hand of the Father, and is coming again with glory and power, to judge living and dead.

13 And in the Holy Ghost, who is given to those who believe for comfort, and sanctification, and initiation, as also our Lord Jesus Christ enjoined his disciples, *Go ye, make disciples of all the nations, baptizing them in the name of the Father and the Son and the Holy Ghost*,⁶
14 namely, of a Father who is truly Father, and a Son who is truly Son, and of the Holy Ghost who is truly Holy Ghost, the names not being given without meaning or effect, but denoting accurately the peculiar

¹ Cf. Heb. 1.3

² Col. 1.15

³ John 1.1,2

⁴ Col. 1.17

⁵ John 6.38

⁶ Matt 28.19

subsistence (ὑπόστασις), rank and glory of each that is named, so that they are three in subsistence, and in agreement one.

- 15 Holding then this faith, and holding it from beginning to end in the sight of God and Christ we anathematize every heretical heterodoxy.
 16 And if any teaches contrary to the sound and right faith of the Scriptures, that time, or season, or age, either is or has been before the
 17 generation of the Son, let him be anathema. Or, if any one says that the Son is a creature as one of the creatures, or an offspring as one of the offsprings, or a work as one of the works, and not the aforesaid articles one after another, as the Divine Scriptures have delivered, or if he
 18 teaches or preaches beside what we received, let him be anathema. For all that has been delivered in the Divine Scriptures, whether by Prophets or Apostles, do we truly and reverentially both believe and follow. (NPNF (Athanasius), altered, with acknowledgements to Kelly, op. cit., pp. 268–70.)

On this creed cf. Sozomen, *HE*, III.5: 'They said that they had found this formulary written entirely by Lucian, who was a martyr at Nicomedia (in 312).' Even if this statement is fundamentally true, it is likely that the creed had been 'touched up' by the Arian sophist Asterius, against whom Marcellus of Ancyra had written, cf. Kelly, *Creeds*, pp. 270–1. Nevertheless the creed excludes Arianism, though not unequivocally as the Creed of Nicaea had done.

14. *of a Father who is truly Father, etc.*: thus is indicated the strongly anti-Sabellian, i.e. anti-Marcellan, tone of this creed, cf. the similar language of Eusebius of Caesarea at Nicaea (*NER* 291).

three in subsistence and in agreement one: cf. Origen, *Contra Celsum*, VIII.12. 'They, i.e. Father and Son, are two distinct existences (πράγματα) but one in agreement, in harmony and in identity of will.'

16. *contrary to the sound and right faith of the Scriptures*: the length of this creed is due to its accumulation of scriptural phrases and quotations.

Subsequent history of this creed: it was used at the council of Ancyra (AD 358) by Basil of Ancyra and the *homoiousian* party, by Basil at Sirmium in 358, by Hilary of Poitiers in his *De Synodis*, 28–33 (where, *ibid.* 32, he calls this council *sanctorum synodus*), by the council of Seleucia (AD 359) (33 below), by the councils of Lampsacus, 364–5, and of Caria, 367.

ANTIOCH 4

Athanasius, *ibid.*, 25; Socrates, *HE*, II.18.3–6;
 Lietzmann, *ibid.*, pp. 25–6

- 3 We believe in one God, the Father almighty, creator and maker of all things, from whom every family in heaven and earth is named;
 4 And in his only-begotten Son our Lord Jesus Christ, Who was begotten from the Father before all ages, God from God, light from light, through whom all things came into being, in heaven and on earth, visible and invisible, being Word and Wisdom and Power and Life and true Light, who in the last days because of us became man

and was born from the holy Virgin, who was crucified and died, and was buried, and rose again from the dead on the third day, and was taken up to heaven, and sat down on the Father's right hand, and will come at the end of the age to judge living and dead and to reward each according to his works, whose reign is unceasing and abides for endless ages; for he will be sitting on the Father's right hand not only in this age but also in the coming one;

5 And in the Holy Spirit, that is the Paraclete, whom he sent as he promised to the Apostles after his ascent to heaven to teach them and to remind them of all things, through whom also the souls of those who have sincerely believed in him will be sanctified.

6 But those who say that the Son is from nothing, or is from another hypostasis and is not from God, and that there was a time when he was not, the Catholic Church regards as alien. (Kelly, *Creeds*, p. 272.)

Athanasius says that this creed was drawn up by the bishops some months after the council and was carried to the West by a deputation. Socrates says that the deputation carried Antioch 2, but on arriving in the West suppressed it and made up Antioch 4 themselves. Of this creed Kelly, *op. cit.*, p. 273, says: 'The condemnation of Arianism is much more outspoken, and from the Western point of view much more satisfactory, than anything that had appeared in the other formularies.' The attempt to define the status of the Holy Spirit should be noted.

Subsequent history of this creed: it is used in the letter of the Eastern council of Sardica; in the *Macrosthichos* (10 below) with new anathemas; it is the (first) Creed of Sirmium (AD 351), used in composition of the 'Dated' Creed (32 below), and by Acacius of Caesarea at the council of Seleucia.

7 The Council of Sardica, 343

Socrates, *HE*, II. 20.7-11

'Constans . . . seems to have persuaded his brother Constantius that, if the widening rift between East and West was to be closed, a united synod of both empires should be convened to settle, once and for all, the question of the deposition of St Athanasius and his colleagues, and also the question of the faith' (Kelly, *Creeds*, p. 275). But the effective handling of this *agenda* required far more careful previous consultation than was possible.

7 When at last they were convened at Sardica, the Easterners refused either to meet or to enter into any conference with those of the West, unless they first excluded Athanasius, Paul, and their associates from
8 the convention. But as Protogenes, bishop of Sardica, and Ossius, bishop of Cordova . . . would by no means permit them to be absent, the Eastern bishops immediately withdrew, and returning to
9 Philippopolis in Thrace, held a separate council, wherein they openly anathematized the term *homoousios*; and having introduced the

- Anomoean opinion into their epistles, they sent them in all directions.
- 10 On the other hand, those who remained at Sardica first condemned them in default, and afterwards divested the accusers of Athanasius of their dignity; then they confirmed the Nicene Creed, and rejected the term 'unlike', and distinctly recognized the doctrine of consubstantiality, and they inserted this in epistles which they too sent
- 11 in all directions. Both parties believed they had acted rightly: those of the East, because the Western bishops had countenanced those whom they had deposed; and these again, in consequence not only of the retirement of those who had deposed them before the matter had been examined into, but also because they themselves were the defenders of the Nicene faith, which the other party had dared to adulterate. (NPNF, altered.)

Socrates believed that the council of Sardica took place in 347.

7. *and their associates*: for example, Marcellus, and Asclepas of Gaza.

9. *They openly anathematized . . . Anomoean opinion*: Socrates is not accurate here. The Easterners took their stand on Antioch 4 (6 above) (Hilary, *Hist. Fr.* 4.29). On the true Anomoeans see 35 below.

10. *distinctly recognized*: cf. 8 below.

Both parties ejected from and/or restored to their sees various bishops, but these measures could not, in general, be put into execution; cf. the letter of the 'Eastern' council, sect. 27, in Hilary, *Hist. Fr.* 3.27: 'But we do injury to no man, but keep the precepts of our laws. For we have been grievously injured and evilly treated by those who wished to disturb the rule of the Catholic Church by their wickedness. But keeping the fear of God before our eyes, and reflecting on the true and just judgement of Christ we accepted the person of no man and have not spared anyone so as to detract from our preservation of ecclesiastical discipline. For this reason the whole council according to the most ancient law (of the Church) has condemned Julius of the city of Rome, Ossius [Hosius] Protogenes, Gaudentius (of Naïssus) and Maximinus of Trier, as admitting to communion Marcellus, Athanasius and the other criminals, and as sharing in the homicides and bloody acts of Paul of Constantinople . . . But it was Julius of the city of Rome, the chief and leader of the wicked, who first opened the gates of communion to condemned criminals, and granted to the rest a means of setting divine law at naught.'

From the passage quoted in the note above:

Paul of Constantinople: Paul became bishop in 336. He was a Nicene, and was ejected by Constantius, who transferred Eusebius of Nicomedia to Constantinople, and later favoured Macedonius. The accusations are of a style readily made. For the vicissitudes of Paul see DCB, s.v., and the chronological table on p.398 of this book.

8 The Doctrinal Statement of the *Western* Council of Sardica, 343

Theodoret, *HE*, II.8.38–43, 45–8

On this document, see Kelly, *Creeds*, pp. 277–9. It brings out with great clarity the ‘Western’ position, that there is one *hypostasis* in the Godhead, and that anyone who professes three *hypostases* is an Arian.

38 Lately two vipers have been born from the Arian asp, namely Ursacius and Valens: they boastfully declare themselves to be most undoubted Christians, and yet they affirm that the Word and the Holy Ghost were both crucified and slain, and that they died and rose again; and they pertinaciously maintain, like the heretics, that the Father, the Son, and
39 the Holy Ghost are of diverse and distinct *hypostases*. We have received and been taught, and we hold the catholic and apostolic tradition and faith and confession which teach, that the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost have one *hypostasis*, which is termed ‘essence (οὐσία)’ by
40 the heretics. If it were asked, ‘What is the *hypostasis* of the Son?’ we confess that it is the same as the sole *hypostasis* of the Father; the Father has never been without the Son, nor the Son without the Father nor is it possible that what is Word is Spirit.

41 It is most absurd to affirm that the Father ever existed without the Son, for that this could never be the case has been testified by the Son himself, who said, *I am in the Father, and the Father in me*¹ and *I and the Father are one*.² We cannot deny that he was begotten; but we say that he was begotten before all things, which are called visible and invisible; and that he is the creator and artificer of archangels and angels, and of
42 the world, and of the human species. It is written, *Wisdom which made all things has taught me*;³ and again, *All things were made by him*.⁴

If he had had a beginning, he could not have always existed: for the ever existent Word does not have a beginning. God will never have an end. We do not say that the Father is the Son, nor that the Son is the Father; but that the Father is the Father, and that the Son is the Son of
43 the Father. We confess that the Son is the Word of God the Father, and that beside him there is no other. We believe the Word to be true God, wisdom and power. We affirm that he is truly Son, yet not in the way in which men are said to be sons: for they are said to be the sons of God on account of their regeneration, or of their merit, and not on account of their being of one *hypostasis* with the Father, as is the Son.

45 We confess that there is but one God, and that the Divinity of the Father and of the Son is one. No one can deny that the Father is greater than the Son: this superiority does not arise from any difference in *hypostasis*, nor indeed from any diversity existing between

¹ John 14.10

² John 10.30

³ Wisd. 7.22

⁴ John 1.3

them, but simply from the name of the Father being greater than that of the Son.

The following words uttered by our Lord, *I and the Father are one*,¹ are by some persons explained as referring to the concord and harmony which prevail between the Father and the Son; but this is a
 46 blasphemous and perverse interpretation. All we Catholics have condemned their foolish and lamentable opinion; for just as mortal men sometimes quarrel and afterwards are reconciled, so do such interpreters infer that disputes and dissension are liable to arise between God the Father Almighty and his Son, a supposition which it
 47 is absurd to conceive or accept. But we believe and maintain and think that those holy words *I and the Father are one*¹ point out the oneness of the *hypostasis*, which is one both of the Father and of the Son. We also believe that the Son reigns with the Father, that his reign has neither beginning nor end, and that it is not bounded by time, nor subject to any contingencies; for what has always existed can never have commenced, and can never terminate. We recognize and we receive the Holy Ghost the Paraclete, whom the Lord promised to send, and whom we believe has been sent. It was not the Holy Ghost who suffered. He who suffered was the Christ, who took the nature of man, and was born of the Virgin Mary. As man, he was capable of suffering: for man is mortal, whereas God is immortal. (Bohn's Ecclesiastical Library, much altered.)

38. *Ursacius*: of Singidunum (Belgrade), and *Valens* of Mursa in Pannonia were leading Western Arians, and 'seem to have held a very confused doctrine' (Bethune-Baker, *Introduction*, p. 179, n. 1).

45. *concord and harmony*: cf. the second Creed of Antioch (6 above) and note on p. 10 with reference to Origen.

47. *the Son reigns with the Father*: this was against what was believed to be the teaching of Marcellus, but cf. 5 above.

9 Canons of Sardica, 343

From the *Latin* text (*Canonum Textus authenticus*), in which there are thirteen canons only, as given by C. H. Turner, *Ecclesiae Occidentalis Monumenta Iuris Antiquissima*, I.ii.3, pp. 452ff: text (Greek and Latin), with commentary, in Hefele-Leclercq, I. ii, pp. 759–804; text (Greek) in Jonkers, pp. 61–73

These are canons of the *Western* council. References in parentheses are to the usual numbering of the canons, in, for example, Hefele-Leclercq.

1 Ossius [Hosius] the bishop proposed:

That what is a bad custom and a pernicious source of corruption be

¹ John 10.30

completely eradicated, namely, a bishop must not be allowed to transfer from his own city to another. For there is an obvious reason which tempts this procedure: hardly one bishop has been found who has transferred from a greater city to a lesser one. This shows that they are aflame with the fire of greed, and that they are slaves to ambition with a view to possessing a wider sphere of jurisdiction.

Do you all agree that pernicious conduct of this kind be punished with the utmost severity, so that such a person be not admitted even to lay communion.

All replied: *Placet*.

Canon 15 of Nicaea (*NER*, p. 342) forbade episcopal translations (and clerical transferences in general), cf. canon 16 of Nicaea, and this prohibition was later reiterated by canon 5 of Chalcedon (247 below): cf. also Arles, canons 2 and 21 (*NER*, pp. 294, 296). For commentary on the issues involved, see Bright, *Canons*, pp. 55ff, 165f, and for Sardica, H. Hess, *The Canons of the Council of Sardica*, pp. 76–8. The transference of Eusebius of Nicomedia to Constantinople must have been in the minds of the council and also the attempted transference of Valens of Mursa to Aquileia.

Canon 2 dealt with a bishop who organized persons in another city to write or clamour for his translation to it, canon 9 defined the time (three Sundays within three weeks) that a bishop might remain in the city of another, and canon 10 granted bishops absence for a similar period to look after property that they owned.

3 Osius the bishop proposed:

(a) This also should be provided, that a bishop do not pass from his own province into another province in which there are bishops; unless, perchance, he has been invited by his brethren, lest we seem to shut the door of charity.

(b) This also should be provided, that, if in any province, any bishop have a cause against his brother and fellow-bishop, neither shall call in bishops from another province.

(c) That, if any bishop has had judgement passed upon him in any case, and consider himself to have good reason for judgement being given afresh upon it, if you agree, let us honour the memory of the most holy Apostle Peter; let there be written letters to the Roman bishop either by those who tried the case or by the bishops who live in the neighbouring province. If he decide that judgement be given afresh, let it be given afresh, and let him appoint judges. If, however, he is of opinion that the case is such that what was done should not be reviewed, then the decision shall hold good.

Is this generally agreed?

The synod replied: *Placet*. (Kidd, *Documents*, II, p. 32, altered.)

Canon 3 must be divided into three sections, here indicated as (a), (b), (c).

(a) Antioch canon 13 enacted deposition for a bishop who entered the diocese of another, without invitation, and performed any ecclesiastical

functions and in particular ordinations there. (It is assumed that the canons of Antioch emanate from a council held there about 332, and not from the council of Antioch in 341, cf., for example, Hess, *The Canons of the Council of Sardica*, Appendix II, pp. 145–50.)

lest we seem to shut the door of charity: i.e. to enable bishops mutually to render friendly services to one another.

(b) Cf. Nicaea canon 5 (*NER*, pp. 239–40), Antioch canon 13.

(c) The deposition of Athanasius, Marcellus, and others made the question of appeals against depositions an urgent one. Not only had they appealed to Rome, but their opponents had shown apprehension over their favourable reception by Julius, cf. 4 above. The Eastern situation, viewed from the Western standpoint of this council, made necessary the establishment of this right of appeal, and the justice of Julius' decision on the case of Athanasius was stated in the letter sent from Sardica to the Alexandrian Church (Athanasius, *Apol. c. Arianos.*, 37).

3B6 Ossius the bishop proposed:

Agreed also that, if a bishop has been accused, and the bishops of that region have met in judgement and have deposed him, and he appears to have appealed and had recourse to the most blessed bishop of the Roman Church and is willing to be heard; and if he (i.e. the bishop of Rome) considers it just that the matter should be examined, let him be good enough to write to the bishops who belong to the neighbouring and adjacent province; let them make careful inquiry into everything, and give sentence in conformity with the truth of the matter. But, if any one who asks that his cause be heard again should by his petition move the Roman bishop to send one of the presbyters closely associated with him, then it shall be in the power of the (Roman) bishop to do as he considers and determines best. If he decides to send such to sit with the bishops, and give judgement, as having the authority of him by whom they were sent, it shall be within his power to do so. But if he should consider the bishops sufficient to determine the business, he shall do as seems fit to his most wise counsel. (Kidd, *Documents*, II, p. 33, altered.)

he (i.e. the bishop of Rome): the subject of the verbs must change: perhaps 'the bishop of Rome' ought to be regarded as the subject of *is willing* also; then continue, *to hear* (the case) instead of *to be heard*. But the true text is doubtful.

5(7) Ossius the bishop proposed:

Our importunity, our constant attendance, and our unjust requests have caused diminution in favour and confidence toward us. Some bishops do not cease going to the court (particularly the Africans, who, as we have ascertained, spurn and despise the salutary counsels of Gratus our most holy brother and fellow bishop), that one single individual may bring to the court many different requests that do no good to the Church, with other objects than ones made commonly (as they ought to be) to assist the poor, widows and minors: their requests

solicit for certain persons secular dignities and offices. And so this disreputable conduct stirs up murmuring against us, and that too not without proving a cause of offence against us. But it is an honourable thing that a bishop should lend his support to those oppressed by some injustice, or if a widow is afflicted, or a minor despoiled of property—yet he should intercede for these classes only when they seek redress in a just case. If you agree, dearest brethren, decree that bishops should not go to the court, unless any by chance who have been invited or summoned by letters of our most religious Emperor. But since it often happens that those who suffer wrong flee to the pity of the Church, and those who for crimes have been sentenced to exile or to an island, or receive some judicial sentence, one must come to their aid and, without hesitation, pardon must be sought for them.

The council was much preoccupied with this problem which arose from 'the yet unregulated and confused relationship between Church and State' (Hess, *op. cit.*, pp. 128–9); cf. also Antioch cans. 11 and 12.

Gratus: Catholic Bishop of Carthage from c. 343 (?) to 353.

Canon 6 (8–9) lays down that (a) bishops with requests to the court should send a deacon to present them, (b) that the requests should be channelled through the metropolitan of the province, who will write letters to the bishops in the area in which the Emperor happens to be, (c) that a bishop who has friends at court may solicit the help of these, (d) 'but those who come to Rome, as has been said, to our most holy brother and fellow bishop of the Roman Church, should present the requests that they bring for his prior examination as to their character and justice, and (if satisfied) he should use care and diligence to bring them to the notice of the court'.

Canon 7 added sanctions against those who transgressed these canons about visits to the court, and laid on any bishop who was *constitutus in canali*, i.e. whose see was on a main road (Turner, *op. cit.*, p. 488), the duty of investigating travelling bishops. Ossius added that caution was necessary as some episcopal travellers might not be aware of the decisions of the council.

8(10) Ossius the bishop proposed:

I think this also to be necessary of your deepest consideration, that if it happen that some rich man, or legal advocate or a civil official be asked for as bishop, he should not be ordained unless he has previously performed the duties of reader, and the office of deacon or presbyter, and so ascends to the highest rank, the episcopate, if he be worthy, by progression up successive steps. For by advancement of this kind, which takes time, the quality of his faith, his modesty, his gravity, and his seemliness of character can be tested. And if he has been proved worthy, let him be honoured with the divine priesthood (i.e. the episcopate), because it is not suitable nor does reason nor ecclesiastical discipline allow, that one who is a neophyte be ordained bishop, presbyter, or deacon, rashly and lightly,¹ especially since the blessed

¹ 1 Tim. 3.6

Apostle, the teacher of the Gentiles, seems to have denounced this practice and prohibited it: but ordination should be conferred on those whose life has been under review for a long period, and whose worth has been proved.

All said, that this was approved.

With the above canon cf. Nicaea can. 2 (*NER* 290).

'The canon seems . . . to be specifically directed against the appointment of various questionable candidates by the Eusebians.' (Hess. op. cit., p. 106, q.v. for various examples, of which we may mention one, i.e. Gregory of Cappadocia, who was intruded into the see of Alexandria in 339.)

neophyte: the meaning in 1 Tim. is not quite the same as in this canon, where the person selected might be a lay Christian of long standing.

10 The Creed of the Long Lines (*Ekthesis Macrostichos*), 345

Athanasius, *De Synodis*, 26; Socrates, *HE*, II.19.7–28

This document was taken to the West by a deputation from an Eastern council. It was designed to explain the Eastern standpoint. It consists of (1) the fourth Creed of Antioch (6 above); (2) after the anathemas originally attached to that creed, it continues with five fresh anathemas (nos. 3–7 below) added by the Eastern council of Sardica; (3) eight paragraphs of explanation. Beginning with the Sardican anathemas (i.e. 3–7) it runs as follows:

- 7 Likewise those who say (3) that there are three Gods: (4) or that Christ is not God: (5) or that, before the ages, he was neither Christ nor Son of God: (6) or that Father and Son and Holy Ghost are the same; (7)
- 8 or that the Son is unbegotten; or that the Father begat the Son not by choice or will; the Holy and Catholic Church anathematizes.

1. For neither is it safe to say that the Son is from nothing (since this is nowhere spoken of him in divinely inspired Scripture), nor again of any other subsistence before existing beside the Father, but from God alone do we define him genuinely to be generated. For the divine Word teaches that the unbegotten and unbegun, the Father of Christ, is One.

- 9 2. Nor may we, adopting the hazardous position, 'There was once when he was not', from unscriptural sources, imagine any interval of time before him, but only the God who has generated him apart from time; for through him both times and ages came to be. Yet we must not consider the Son to be co-unbegun and co-ingenerate with the Father; for no one can be properly called Father or Son of one who is co-unbegun and co-unbegotten with him. But we acknowledge that the Father, who alone is unbegun and unbegotten, has generated inconceivably and incomprehensibly to all; and that the Son has been begotten before ages, and in no wise to be unbegotten himself also like

the Father, but to have the Father who begat him as his beginning; for *the Head of Christ is God.*¹

11 3. Nor again, in confessing three realities and three Persons, of the
12 Father and the Son and the Holy Ghost according to the Scriptures,
do we therefore make three Gods; since we acknowledge the self-
complete and unbegotten and unbegun and invisible God to be one
only, the God and Father of the Only-begotten, who alone has being
from himself, and alone, as an act of grace confers this on all others
bountifully.

13 4. Nor again, in saying that the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ is
one only God, the only unbegotten, do we therefore deny that Christ
also is God before the ages; as the disciples of Paul of Samosata, who
say that after the Incarnation he was by advance made God, though by
14 nature a mere man. For we acknowledge that, though he be
subordinate to his Father and God, yet, being before the ages begotten
from God, he is God perfect according to nature and true God and not
first man and then God, but first God and then becoming man for us,
and never having been deprived of being.

15 5. We abhor, besides, and anathematize those who say falsely that he
is but the mere Word of God and non-existent, having his being in
another—at one time the ‘expressed’ Word, as some say, at another
the ‘immanent’ Word, holding that he was not Christ or Son of God or
mediator or image of God before ages; but that he first became Christ
and Son of God when he took our flesh from the Virgin, not quite four
hundred years ago. For they will have it that then Christ began his
kingdom, and that it will have an end after the consummation of all and
the judgement.

16 6. Such are the disciples of Marcellus and Scotinus of Galatian
Ancyra, who, like Jews, deny Christ’s existence before ages, and his
Godhead, and unending kingdom, upon pretence of supporting the
17 divine Monarchy. We, on the contrary, regard him not as simply God’s
expressed or immanent word, but as Living God and Word, existing by
himself, and Son of God and Christ; being and abiding with his Father
before all ages, and that not in foreknowledge only, and ministering to
18 him for the whole creation whether of things visible or invisible. For he
it is to whom the Father said, *Let us make man in our image, after our
likeness;*² Who also was seen in his own Person by the patriarchs, gave
the law, spoke by the prophets and finally became man, and manifested
his own Father to all men, and reigns to endless ages. For Christ has
taken no recent dignity, but we have believed him to be perfect from
the first, and like in all things to the Father.

19 7. And those who say that the Father and Son and Holy Ghost are
the same, and irreligiously take the three names of one and the same
reality and person, we justly proscribe from the Church, because they

¹ 1 Cor. 11.3

² Gen. 1.26

suppose the illimitable and impassible Father to be limitable and passible through the Incarnation; for such are they whom Romans call
 20 Patripassians, and we Sabellians. For we acknowledge that the Father, who sent, remained in the peculiar state of his unchangeable Godhead; and that Christ, who was sent, fulfilled the economy of the Incarnation.

21 8. And, at the same time, those who irreverently say that the Son has been generated not by choice or will, thus encompassing God with a necessity which excludes choice and purpose, so that he begat the Son unwillingly, we account as most irreligious and alien to the Church; in that they have dared to define such things concerning God, contrary to the common notions concerning him, and, in particular, contrary to the
 22 purport of divinely inspired Scripture. For we, knowing that God is absolute and sovereign over himself, have a religious judgement that he generated the Son voluntarily and freely; but, as we have a reverent belief in the Son's words concerning himself, *The Lord created me a beginning of his ways for his works,*¹ we do not understand him to have been originated like the creatures or works which through him came to
 23 be. For it is irreligious and alien to the ecclesiastical faith to compare the Creator with handiworks created by him, and to think that he has the same manner of origination with the rest. For divine Scriptures teach us genuinely and truly that the only-begotten Son was generated sole and solely.

24 Yet, in saying that the Son is in himself, and both lives and exists like the Father, we do not on that account separate him from the Father, imagining place and interval between their union in the way of bodies.
 25 For we believe that they are united with each other without mediation or interval, and that they exist inseparable; all the Father embosoming the Son, and all the Son hanging and adhering to the Father, and alone resting on the Father's breast continually.

26 Believing then in the all-perfect Triad, that is, in the Father and the Son and the Holy Ghost, and calling the Father God, and the Son God, yet we confess in them not two Gods but one dignity of Godhead, and one exact harmony of dominion, the Father alone being head over the whole universe wholly, and over the Son himself, and the
 27 son subordinated to the Father; but, excepting him, ruling over all things after him which through himself have come to be, and granting the grace of the Holy Ghost unsparingly to the saints at the Father's will. For that such is the account of the Divine Monarchy towards Christ, the sacred oracles have delivered to us.

28 Thus much in addition to the faith before published in epitome, we have been compelled to draw forth at length, not in any superfluous display, but to clear away all unjust suspicion concerning our opinions, among those who are ignorant of our affairs; and that all in the West may know both the audacity of the slanders of the heterodox, and the

¹ Prov. 8.22

ecclesiastical mind in the Lord of the Orientals, to which the divinely inspired Scriptures bear witness without violence, among those who are not perverted. (NPNF (Athanasius), altered.)

On the anathemas see Kelly, *Creeds*, p. 276. No. 3 defends the Eastern bishops against the view that the postulation of three *hypostases* implied tritheism. No. 4 would be held by scarcely anyone; nos. 5–7 are directed against Marcellus.

11. *three realities*: πράγματα, as Origen had said, see 6 above.

13. *Paul of Samosata*: cf. NER 229.

14. *never having been deprived of being*: Socrates, *HE*, II.19.14, adds *God*.

16. *Scotinus*: i.e. Photinus (the man of light), disciple of Marcellus, and bishop of Sirmium from *ante* 344–351, is called Scotinus (the man of darkness).

18. *like in all things*: this was the crucial point in the Dated Creed (32 below). But others, in particular Athanasius, used the expression ‘like’ or ‘like in all things’. For references see Bethune-Baker, *Introduction*, p. 192.

19. *impassible*: cf. the Creed of Aquileia, 106 below.

20. *Patripassians*: this was the view attributed to the Sabellians by Hippolytus; cf. NER 124, also NER 146. But the actual word does not appear to be used, except by Origen, before this date.

28. *to clear away all unjust suspicion concerning our opinions*: but the West was not really moved, and the difficulty about one *hypostasis* or three *hypostases* not yet resolved.

11 The Creed of Jerusalem, 348

Based on the *Catechetical Lectures* of Cyril of Jerusalem;
Litzmann, *Symbols*, p. 15

Words in brackets are based on the titles of the lectures, which were added by an editor.

We believe in one God, Father almighty, Maker of heaven and earth, of all things visible and invisible; [And] in one Lord Jesus Christ, the only-begotten Son of God, who was begotten from the Father as true God before all ages, through whom all things came into being, who [was incarnate and] became man, [who] was crucified [and buried and] rose again [from the dead] on the third day, and ascended to the heavens, and sat down at the right hand of the Father, and is coming in glory to judge living and dead, of whose kingdom there will not be an end;

[And] in one Holy Spirit, the Paraclete, who spoke in the prophets, and in one baptism of repentance to the remission of sins, and in one holy Catholic Church, and in the resurrection of the flesh, and in life everlasting. (Kelly, *Creeds*, pp. 183–4, slightly altered.)

Although the above text dates from 348, this creed, as the baptismal Creed of Jerusalem, is probably older. It should be compared with the Creed of Caesarea, and with the Creed of Nicaea (NER 291).

3 *The West under Constans, 340–50*

12 The 'Manual of Intolerance' of Firmicus Maternus, c. 346–348

Firmicus Maternus, *De Errore Profanarum Religionum*, 16.4–5; 28.6; 29.1–2,4

- 16.4 These practices must be completely destroyed, and corrected, most Worshipful Emperors, by your legal pronouncements in the harshest terms, lest the dire error of pagan obtuseness stain the Roman world any longer. [The pagans may not want to be corrected, any more than sick people like the prescribed remedies, but the duty of saving them despite themselves is laid on the Emperors by God.]
- 28.6 Away, most Worshipful Emperors, away with the temple treasures! Let the fire of your mint or the flame of your smelting works roast those gods! Transfer all the temple gifts to your service and control! With the destruction of the temples you have made further progress in divine virtue . . .
- 29.1.2 But a necessity is laid upon you, most Worshipful Emperors, to punish and take vengeance on this evil, and this charge is enjoined on you by the law of the Most High God, namely, that your severity pursue the monstrous crime of idolatry in every way. Hear and commend to your sacred understanding the orders of God with regard to this crime. [Then follows Deuteronomy 13.6–10, filled with threats against one's nearest and dearest if they practise idolatry.]
- 4 Thus all will turn out well for you: victory, wealth, peace and plenty, health and triumphs will be yours, so that exalted by the Divine Majesty you may rule the world with auspicious sway.

The title 'Manual of Intolerance' is from Boissier, *La Fin du Paganisme*, 9th edn, I, p. 68.

16.4 *most Worshipful Emperors*: i.e. Constantius II and Constans.

obtuseness (praesumptio): the Christian can now make the reproach to the pagan, which the latter had brought against the Christians in the centuries of persecution.

28.6 *destruction of the temples*: see 118, 122–3 and 139(1) below.

29.4 *all will turn out well*: for this idea, cf., for example, Alföldi, *The Conversion of Constantine and Pagan Rome*, pp. 21–2.

13 Some Pagan Shrines are Spared, 342

Cod. Theod., XVI. 10.3

Although all superstitions must be completely eradicated, nevertheless, it is Our will that the buildings of the temples situated outside the walls shall remain untouched and uninjured. For since certain plays or spectacles of the circus or contests derive their origin from some of these temples, such structures shall not be torn down, since from them is provided the regular performance of long established amusements for the Roman people. (Pharr, p. 472.)

This is an edict of Constans and Constantius II. It is addressed to the Prefect of Rome, Aco Catullinus, who was a pagan.

14 Donatism: The Mission of Paul and Macarius to Africa, 347, and the Behaviour of Donatus

Optatus, *De Schismate Donatistarum*, III.3

[Optatus had shown firstly that various passages from Scripture condemned the Donatist position.]

Secondly, Donatus of Carthage was responsible, for through his poisonous wiles the question of [effecting] unity was first mooted.

I shall be able to show that the makers of unity (Paul and Macarius) did nothing at our instigation, nor of their own wickedness, but that everything happened through provocatory causes, which were set in motion by Donatus of Carthage, in his frivolity, and were due to the actions of individuals controlled by him, whilst he was struggling to be thought great . . . Who can deny a fact, to which the whole of Carthage is the leading witness, that the Emperor Constans did not originally send Paul and Macarius to bring about unity, but to be his almoners, in order that the poor people in the various Churches might be afforded assistance, by means of which they might breathe anew, be clothed, fed, and rejoice?

But when they came to Donatus your father, and told him why they had come, he, as was usual with him, fell into a rage, and burst out with these words: 'What has the Emperor to do with the Church?' And from the fountain of his frivolity, he poured forth torrents of reproaches no less evil-sounding than those with which he had once upon a time not hesitated to assail the prefect Gregory—calling him 'Gregory the stain upon the Senate, the disgrace of the Prefects', and the like. Gregory replied to him with patience worthy of a bishop.

[Donatus, rejecting the teaching of the Apostle Paul, insulted the Emperor, whose domination had conferred such benefits on the Church.]

For he had sent embellishments to the house of God, and alms to the poor: that was nothing to Donatus. Why then did Donatus act like a madman? Why was he full of anger? Why did he refuse the gifts which had been sent? For when the commissioners announced that they were going through individual provinces, and that they would give alms to those who were willing to accept them, he declared that he had sent letters everywhere in advance to forbid that anything which had been brought should be distributed anywhere amongst the poor . . . It is certain that both are now with God—the one who wished to give, and the other who stood in the way of his giving. Well, if God were now to say to Donatus, ‘Bishop, what do you wish Constans to have been? If he was innocent, why would you not receive from an innocent giver? If he was a sinner, why did you not permit alms to be given by him, for whose sake I made the poor man?’ When questioned after this fashion, what sort of face will he show? Why in his frivolity and madness did he work so hard to keep good things from so many poor people?

He believed that he held dominion over Carthage; and since there is no one superior to the Emperor excepting God alone (who made the Emperor), Donatus, in raising himself above the Emperor, had already, as it were, passed the boundaries apportioned to humanity, so that he almost regarded himself, not as man, but as God, when he refused to revere him, who, after God, was feared by mankind . . . Moreover, in the mouths of the people, he was seldom called a bishop, but was spoken of as ‘Donatus of Carthage’.

Besides, whereas bishops ought to serve God, he demanded so much for himself from his bishops, that they all had to venerate him with no less fear than they venerated God—because to himself he seemed to be God. And though men are wont to swear by God alone, he allowed men to swear by him, as if by God. If this were done by any man in mistake, it was his duty to forbid it. As, then, he did not forbid it, to himself he seemed to be God.

Again, whilst all those who believed in Christ were, before the day of his insolence, called Christians, he ventured to divide the people with God, so that those who followed him were no longer called Christians, but Donatists; and when any people visited him from any province of Africa, he did not ask those questions (which the custom of men always calls for) about the weather, about peace and war, about the harvest, but to every one who came into his presence he spoke thus: ‘How goes my party in your part of the world?’ (O. R. Vassall-Phillips, *The Work of St Optatus*, pp. 131–8).

On the origins of the Donatist Schism, see *NER* 259.

the question of unity: Donatus had sought from Constans recognition as the sole bishop of Carthage: the Emperor sent Paul and Macarius as his representatives to Africa.

'What has the Emperor to do with the Church?': yet it was the Donatists who first appealed to the Emperor in 313, as Augustine later reminded Vincentius (*Ep.*XCIII.4.13;5.16) in AD 408. Having deposed Caecilian by a council the Donatists regarded him as a layman, concerning whom appeal to the Emperor, as chief magistrate, was justified.

Gregory: praetorian prefect. This abuse of him occurred about 336.

for whose sake I made the poor man: referring to Prov. 22.2 and Ecclus. 3.30, which Optatus had quoted in the passage omitted above.

15 The Circumcellions, c. 340

Optatus, *De Schismate Donatistarum*, III 4

This follows closely, in Optatus, on passage 14 above.

[As Paul and Macarius continued their mission, *Donatus alter*, bishop of Bagae, assembled the Circumcellions, his shock troops (*agonistici*), to oppose them actively.]

For when men of this sort were, before the attainment of unity, wandering about in every place, and in their insanity called Axido and Fasis 'Captains of the Saints', no man could rest secure in his possessions. Written acknowledgements of indebtedness had lost their value. At that time no creditor was free to press his claim, and all were terrified by the letters of these fellows who boasted that they were 'Captains of the Saints'. If there was any delay in obeying their commands, of a sudden a host of madmen flew to the place. A reign of terror was established. Creditors were hemmed in with perils, so that they who had a right to be supplicated on account of that which was due to them, were driven through fear of death, to be themselves the humble suppliants. Very soon everyone lost what was owing to him—even to very large amounts, and held himself to have gained something in escaping from the violence of these men.

Even journeys could not be made with perfect safety, for masters were often thrown out of their own chariots and forced to run, in servile fashion, in front of their own slaves, seated in their lord's place. By the judgement and command of these outlaws, the condition of masters and slaves was completely reversed.

So when the bishops of your party were reproached [with this state of affairs], they are said to have written to Taurinus, who was at the time in possession of civil authority, saying that as men of this class could not be corrected by the Church, they requested that they should be punished by the above-mentioned officer.

In answer to this letter Taurinus ordered an armed force to go through the markets, where these mad vagrants were accustomed to wander about.

[Many Circumcellions thus perished.]

Afterwards the numbers of these fanatics had once more increased; so Donatus of Bagae found the means of getting together from them a furious horde with which to oppose Macarius.

Of the same class were those who, out of desire for a false martyrdom, hired men to strike and kill them to their own destruction. From amongst these also they were drawn who cast themselves down headlong from the summits of lofty mountains, throwing away their good-for-nothing lives. (O. R. Vassall-Phillips, *The Work of St Optatus*, pp. 143-7.)

[This tentative roused the ire of the Roman troops, and many Circumcellions were slain, including Donatus of Bagae (Optatus, op. cit., III.6).]

the Circumcellions: so called because they lived around the martyrs' shrines (*cellae*); it was formerly explained as 'around the farms'. As can be seen from the narrative above, they were desperate fanatics and a symbol of the distressful economic condition of many in the fourth century; cf. W. H. C. Frend, *The Donatist Church*, ch. v.

Taurinus: Comes Africae before c. 345

4 *Constantius II as Sole Ruler of the Roman World, 353–61*

16 Constantius II and Paganism

1 AD 341

Cod. Theod. XVI 10.2

Superstition shall cease; the madness of sacrifices shall be abolished. For if any man in violation of the law of the sainted Emperor, Our Father, and in violation of this command of Our Clemency, should dare to perform sacrifices, he shall suffer the infliction of a suitable punishment and the effect of an immediate sentence. (Pharr, p. 472.)

The influence of this law, which was issued apparently by Constantius alone, is hard to determine: it had little if any effect.

the law of the sainted Emperor, Our Father. we do not know anything of such a law of Constantine, who never appears to have gone back on the promise of toleration made in 313, and renewed in 324 (*NER* 250, 275). Cf. Libanius, *Pro Templis*, 6, 'Constantine used the temple treasures, but altered not a single item of the accustomed worship: there was poverty in the temples, but one could see all the rites being carried out.' Eusebius/Jerome, *Chron. sub anno* 331, records an edict of Constantine, however, which ordered 'the destruction of the temples of the pagans'.

2 AD 356(?346)

Cod. Theod. XVI 10.4.

It is Our pleasure that the temples shall be immediately closed in all places and in all cities, and access to them forbidden, so as to deny to all abandoned men the opportunity to commit sin. It is also Our will that all men shall abstain from sacrifices. But if perchance any man should perpetrate any such criminality, he shall be struck down with the avenging sword. We also decree that the property of a man thus executed shall be vindicated to the treasury. The governors of the provinces shall be similarly punished if they should neglect to avenge such crimes. (Pharr, p. 472, slightly altered.)

It is quite clear that these edicts had little effect. Nor does Constantius appear to have wished for the role of a destroyer of temples. On his visit to Rome in 357, see 95 (1) below. Possibly the work of Firmicus Maternus may have had some effect, cf. 12 above.

17 Constantius II and Christianity

Ammianus Marcellinus, *Res Gestae*, XXI.16.18

He confused the Christian religion, which is plain and simple, with old women's superstitions: in investigating which he preferred perplexing himself to settling its questions with dignity, so that he excited much dissension; which he further encouraged by diffuse wordy explanations: he ruined the establishment of public conveyances by devoting them to the service of crowds of priests, who went to and fro to different synods, as they call the meetings at which they endeavour to settle everything according to their own fancy. (Tr. C. D. Yonge, p. 275.)

Constantius' sympathies were with the Easterners, opponents of Athanasius, but the progress of controversy in the fifties of the fourth century shows that his views were not constant. Like his father, he strove to find a creed that would command the widest measure of belief among his subjects.

18 A Cross in the Heavens, 351

Cyril of Jerusalem, *Letter to the Emperor Constantius*, 3-5

3 For, in the days of Constantine your father, most dear to God and of blessed memory, there was discovered the wood of the cross fraught with salvation, because the divine grace that gave piety to the pious seeker vouchsafed the finding of the buried holy places. But in your time, your Majesty, most religious of Emperors, victorious through a piety towards God greater even than that which you inherited, are seen wonderful works, not from the earth any more, but from the heavens. The trophy of the victory over death of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, the only-begotten Son of God, I mean the blessed cross, has been seen at Jerusalem blazing with refulgent light!

4 For in these very days of the holy feast of Pentecost, on the seventh of May, about the third hour a gigantic cross formed of light appeared in the sky above holy Golgotha stretching out as far as the holy Mount of Olives. It was not seen by just one or two, but was most clearly displayed before the whole population of the city. Nor did it, as one might have supposed, pass away quickly like something imagined, but was visible to sight above the earth for some hours, while it sparkled with a light above the sun's rays. Of a surety, it would have been overcome and hidden by them had it not exhibited to those who saw it a brilliance more powerful than the sun, so that the whole population of the city made a concerted rush into the Martyry, seized by a fear that mingled with joy at the heavenly vision. They poured in, young and old, men and women of every age, even to maidens hitherto kept in the seclusion of their homes, local folk and strangers together, not only

Christians but pagans from elsewhere sojourning in Jerusalem; all of them as with one mouth raised a hymn of praise to Christ Jesus our Lord, the only-begotten Son of God, the worker of wonders. For they recognized in fact and by experience that the most religious creed of Christians is *not with enticing words of wisdom, but in demonstration of the Spirit and of power*,¹ not merely preached by men, but having witness borne to it by God from the heavens.

- 5 Therefore, seeing that we, the dwellers in Jerusalem, have seen with our own eyes this marvellous occurrence and have rendered to God the universal King and the only-begotten Son of God the thankful adoration that is due, and will so render: and have moreover made, as we will yet make, in the Holy Places, continued prayer for your reign as Emperor dear to God, we must not consign these God-given sights in the heavens to silence, but tell your sacred piety the joyful news. Without delay, I have hastened to dispatch this letter, so that, upon the good foundation of the faith you already possess, you might build up the knowledge of the recent divine manifestation, and so receive yet stronger confidence in our Lord Jesus Christ. At the same time you will be filled with your usual courage as having God himself upon your side, and will the more readily advance upon the trophy of the cross, using the sign that appeared in heaven as a crowning glory, in which heaven itself has gloried the more in showing forth its shape to men. (W. Telfer, *Cyril of Jerusalem and Nemesis of Emesa*, pp. 194–7, altered.)

This encouraging sight appeared when Constantius was fighting a civil war against Magnentius (see also 19 below), who had killed Constans in 350. Cyril appears to be entirely ignorant of the story of Constantine's vision of the cross.

3. *there was discovered the wood*: the discovery of the true cross is mentioned several times by Cyril in his *Catechetical Lectures*, cf. Telfer, op. cit., ad loc. The story of its discovery by Helena, mother of Constantine, is given in Rufinus, *HE*, X.7–8.

19 The Battle of Mursa, 28 September 351

Sulpicius Severus, *Chronica*, II 38.4–7

- 4 These, i.e. the Arian bishops, had got possession of the palace to such an extent that the Emperor did nothing without their concurrence. He was indeed at the beck of all of them, but was especially under the
5 influence of Valens. For at that time, when a battle was fought at Mursa against Magnentius, Constantius had not the courage to go down to watch the conflict, but took up his abode in a church of the martyrs which stood outside the town, Valens, who was then the bishop

¹ 1 Cor. 2.4

- of the place, being with him to keep up his courage. But Valens had cunningly placed along the road agents, that he should be the first to know the result of the battle. He did this either to gain the favour of the Emperor, if he should be the first to convey to him good news, or with a view to saving his own life, since he would obtain time for flight,
- 6 should the issue prove unfortunate. Accordingly, the few persons who were with the Emperor being in a state of alarm, and the Emperor himself being a prey to anxiety, Valens was the first to announce to them the flight of the enemy. When Constantius requested that the person who had brought the news should be introduced to his presence, Valens, to increase the reverence felt for himself, said that an
- 7 angel was the messenger who had come to him. The Emperor, gullible, was accustomed afterwards openly to declare that he had won the victory through the merits of Valens, and not by the valour of his army. (NPNF, altered.)

By this victory Constantius overthrew the usurper Magnentius, whose rebellion had challenged the rule of the House of Constantine. Magnentius was eventually killed near Lyon in 353, and Constantius' government was not threatened until the revolt of the legions in Gaul in favour of his cousin Julian, in 360.

20 The Issue between Constantius and the Western Church, 353–4

Liberius, *Letter to Constantius*: text in *CSEL*, LXV. iv, pp. 89–93

- 2 [Liberius denies the suggestion that he had suppressed evidence sent from the East against Athanasius.]

We did not trust this evidence, and assent to it, because at the same time it was contradicted by the opinion about Athanasius sent by eighty Egyptian bishops, which we read (as we did the other evidence) and intimated to the Italian bishops. So it seemed contrary to the divine law, even to give our assent to either side (since the supporters of Athanasius were more than his opponents).

[Vincentius carried all the documents to Arles for Liberius.]

- 3 Your Prudence therefore sees that no thought had entered my head that was unworthy of the servants of God. But God is my witness, the whole Church with all its members is my witness, that I, through faith and fear towards my God, spurn and have spurned all worldly things in conformity with evangelical and apostolic precept. I have not acted rashly or precipitately, but with respect towards, and observance of, the divine law; in the rest of my ministry as a cleric, I have fulfilled my office without pride or ambition: I entered on my present office—and my God is my witness—against my will; and, as long as I live, my

desire is to remain without offence to God. My actions have not sought to promote injunctions of my own but those of the apostles, and to preserve and guard these for ever. I have followed the customary policy of my predecessors, and have added nothing to the Roman see (*episcopatus urbis Romae*), and I have suffered nothing to be taken from it. My hope is, that the faith that I hold, which has come down to me through a succession of such distinguished bishops, of whom many were martyrs, may be preserved for ever inviolate.

2. *to assent to either side*: i.e. until a council has been held, as was done by Constantius, precipitately, at Arles, cf. 21 below.

3. *against my will*: Liberius had been one of the deacons of Julius, 'a gentle and pious deacon, who does not seem to have been particularly intelligent or always adroit' (J. R. Palanque, in Fliche et Martin, *Histoire de l'Église*, III, p. 231).

but those of the apostles: 'If Constantius were to have his way, it would not be *statuta apostolica*, but *edicta* and *sacra rescripta* which would determine in future the Church's faith and conduct. In his path stood only the frail figure of the Roman bishop' (Jalland, *The Church and the Papacy*, p. 227).

21 The Council of Milan, 355

Hilary, *Ad Constantium*, I.3 (CSEL, LXV, pp. 186–7)

Eusebius, bishop of Vercellae, is a man who has served God all his life. After the council of Arles, when Paulinus the bishop (of Trier) had opposed the flagrant crimes of those we are talking about, he was ordered to come to Milan. An assembly of *evil doers*¹ was already gathered there, he was forbidden to come to the church for the space of ten days, while their perverse and ill disposition exercised itself against so holy a man. When it suited them, and all his own plans had been rendered inactive, he came with the Roman clerics, and Lucifer, bishop of Sardinia. Summoned to attach his signature against Athanasius, he said that they first ought to decide what the faith of bishops should be: he understood that some of those present were polluted with the taint of heresy. Eusebius brought forward the faith promulgated at Nicaea . . . and promised that he would do all that they asked, if they subscribed to this confession. Dionysius, bishop of Milan, first received the paper, and as he began to write his profession of faith, Valens snatched the pen and paper from his hands, shouting, 'Certainly not that!' Uproar ensued, and the people got wind of what was happening. All experienced acute distress at an attack on the faith made by bishops. Through fear of the popular verdict, the latter took themselves off from the church to the palace. Their judgement against

¹ Cf. Ps. 22(21). 17 (Vulg.)

Eusebius speaks for itself as having been reached long before they went to the church (i.e. for the council).

Eusebius, bishop of Vercellae, from c. 340.

the council of Arles: held by Constantius in 353, at which he secured the condemnation of Athanasius by the Gallic bishops. Only Paulinus resisted.

the Roman clerics: Lucifer of Cagliari, the priest Pancratius, and the deacon Hilary were the emissaries of Liberius.

to the palace: where Constantius (according to Athanasius, *Hist. Ar.* 33) confronted the few who resisted with the dictum, 'What I will is to be considered a canon. For when I make such pronouncements the bishops of Syria (οἱ τῆς Συρίας λεγόμενοι ἐπίσκοποι) put up with it. Obey therefore, or you will go into banishment.' (Did Constantius really say λεγόμενοι or is this a parenthesis of Athanasius?)

22 The Exile of Liberius, 355

Sozomen, *HE* IV. 11.9–12

9 When the Emperor perceived that Liberius was not disposed to comply with his mandate, he commanded that Liberius should be conveyed to Thrace, unless he would change his mind within two days. 'As far as I am concerned, O Emperor,' replied Liberius, 'there is no need of deliberation; my resolution has long been formed and decided,
10 and I am ready to start my journey.' It is said, that when he was being conducted to banishment, the Emperor sent him five hundred pieces of gold, but he refused to receive them, and said to the messenger who brought them, 'Go, and tell the sender to give this money to the flatterers and hypocrites who surround him, for their insatiable cupidity plunges them into a state of perpetual want which can never be relieved. Christ, who is in all respects like unto his Father, supplies us with food and with all good things.'

11 Liberius for the above reason was deposed from the Roman Church; its government was transferred to Felix, a deacon of the clergy there. It is said that Felix always continued in adherence to the Nicene faith; and that his conduct in religious matters was blameless. The only thing alleged against him was, that, prior to his ordination, he held communion with the heterodox.

12 When the Emperor entered Rome, the people loudly demanded Liberius, and besought his return; after consulting with the bishops who were with him, he replied that he would recall Liberius and restore him to the people, if he would consent to embrace the same sentiments as those held by the priests of the court. (NPNF, altered.)

The verdict of the Councils of Arles and Milan enabled Constantius to move against those whom he regarded as his opponents: Liberius, Athanasius, Ossius (Hosius) and Hilary of Poitiers.

In Theodoret, *HE*, II. 16 there is given the text of a dialogue between Liberius, Constantius, the bishop Epictetus (see below), and the eunuch Eusebius.

10. *five hundred pieces of gold*: Theodoret, loc. cit., 27–8, says that the Empress sent him a similar sum.

like unto his Father: this is not the language that one would expect from Liberius.

11. *Felix*: consecrated by Epictetus II of Centumcellae in the presence of three eunuchs of the imperial household to represent the people (Athanasius, *Hist. Arian.*, 75). His earlier namesake was bishop of Centumcellae at the time of the Council of Arles in 314.

12. *entered Rome*: in 356, cf 95 (1) below.

23 Attempted Arrest of Athanasius, 8 February 356: Ought Christians to Flee when Persecuted?

Athanasius, *Apol. de Fuga sua*, 22–5

22 Thus the Saints, as I said before, were abundantly preserved in their flight by the Providence of God, as physicians for the sake of them that had need. And to others generally, and to us all absolutely, is this law given, to flee when persecuted, and to hide when sought after, and not rashly tempt the Lord, but wait, as I said above, until the appointed time of death arrive, or the Judge determine something concerning them, according as it shall seem to him to be good: that men should be ready, that, when the time calls, or when they are taken, they may *contend for the truth even unto death*.¹ This rule the blessed martyrs observed in their several persecutions. When persecuted they fled, while concealing themselves they showed fortitude, and when discovered they submitted to martyrdom. And if some of them came and presented themselves to their persecutors, they did not do so without reason; for immediately in that case they were martyred, and thus it was evident to all that their zeal, and this offering up of themselves, were from the Spirit.

23 Seeing therefore that such are the commands of our Saviour, and that such is the conduct of the Saints, let these persons, to whom one cannot give a name suitable to their character, — let them, I say, tell us, from whom they learnt to persecute? They cannot say from the Saints. No, but from the devil (that is the only answer which is left them); — from him who says, *I will pursue, I will overtake*.² Our Lord commanded to flee, and the Saints fled: but persecution is a device of the devil, and one which he desires to exercise against all. Let them say

¹ Ecclus. 4.28

² Ex. 15.9

then, to which we ought to submit ourselves; to the words of the Lord, or to their fabrications? Whose conduct ought we to imitate, that of the Saints, or that of those whose example these men have thought up.

- 24 This were sufficient to put a stop to the madness of impious men, and to prove that their desire is for nothing else, but only through a love of contention to utter revilings and insults. But forasmuch as having once dared to fight against Christ, they have now become officious, let them inquire and learn into the manner of my withdrawal from their own friends. For the Arians were mixed with the soldiers in order to exasperate them against me, and, as they were unacquainted with my person, to point me out to them. And although they are destitute of all feelings of compassion, yet when they hear the circumstances they will surely be quiet for very shame.

It was now night, and some of the people were keeping a vigil preparatory to a communion on the morrow, when the General Syrianus suddenly came upon us with more than five thousand soldiers, having arms and drawn swords, bows, javelins, and clubs, as I have related above. He surrounded the church, stationing his soldiers near at hand, in order that no one might be able to leave the church and get past. Now I considered that it would be unreasonable in me to desert the people during such a disturbance, and not to endanger myself in their behalf; therefore I sat down upon my throne, and bade the deacon to read a psalm, and the people to answer, *For his mercy endureth for ever*,¹ and then all to withdraw and depart home.

But the general having now made a forcible entry, and the soldiers having surrounded the sanctuary to arrest us, the clergy and those of the laity, who were there, were shouting and asking us also to withdraw. But I refused, declaring that I would not do so, until they had retired one and all. Accordingly I stood up, and having bidden prayer, I then repeatedly made *my* request of them, that all should depart before me, saying that it was better that my safety should be endangered, than that any of them should receive hurt. So when the greater part had gone, and the rest were following, the monks who were there with us and certain of the clergy came up and dragged us away. And thus (truth is my witness), while some of the soldiers stood about the sanctuary, and others were going round the church, we passed through, under the Lord's guidance, and with his protection withdrew without observation, greatly glorifying God that we had not betrayed the people, but had first sent them away, and then had been able to save ourselves, and to escape the hands of those who were looking for us.

- 25 Now when Providence had delivered us in such an extraordinary manner, who can justly lay any blame upon us, because we did not give

¹ Ps. 136.1

ourselves up to those who were looking for us, or return and present ourselves to them? This would have been plainly to show ingratitude to the Lord, and to act against his commandment, and in contradiction to the practice of the Saints. (NPNF, altered.)

22. *as physicians, etc.*: In the *De Fuga* Athanasius is concerned to refute the accusation that his flight from Alexandria was due to cowardice. He was easily able to justify his conduct by quoting examples from the Old Testament and from the life of Christ himself.

when persecuted they fled: for example, the retirement of Polycarp in the second century, and of Clement of Alexandria and Cyprian in the third.

presented themselves: Lucius at Rome and the Christians in Asia when Arrius Antoninus was governor (NER 21, 136) in the second century, or Eulalia (Prudentius, *Peristephanon*, III) in the persecution of Diocletian.

24. *Syrianus* had arrived about a month previously, and had concentrated troops in Alexandria. In making this attack on Athanasius, he was, according to the latter, violating a solemn engagement to refer the case of Athanasius to the Emperor, before taking any action. (Ath., *Apol. ad Const.*, 24–5).

Athanasius' third exile, which he spent in Egypt among the monks, lasted till Julian's accession.

24 Protest by Ossius (Hosius) of Cordova to Constantius II, c. 356

Ossius of Cordova, *ap. Ath., Hist. Arian.*, 44

Ossius to the Emperor Constantius sends greeting in the Lord.

I was a confessor at the first, when a persecution arose in the time of your grandfather Maximian; and, if you persecute me, I am ready now too to endure anything rather than to shed innocent blood and to betray the truth. But I cannot approve of your conduct as you write in this threatening manner. Cease to write like this; do not take the side of Arius, nor listen to those in the East, nor give credit to Ursacius, Valens, and company. For whatever they assert, it is not on account of Athanasius, but on account of their own heresy. Believe me, Constantius, who am of an age to be your grandfather.

I was present at the council of Sardica, when you and your brother Constans of blessed memory assembled us all together; and on my own account I challenged the enemies of Athanasius, when they came to the church where I was staying, that if they had anything against him they might declare it; desiring them to have confidence, and not to expect otherwise than that a right judgement would be passed in all things. This I did not once but twice, requesting them if they were unwilling to appear before the whole council, yet to appear before me alone; promising them also that, if he should be proved guilty, he should certainly be rejected by us also; but, if he should be found to be

blameless, and should prove you to be calumniators, that if you should then refuse to hold communion with him, I would persuade him to go with me into Spain. Athanasius was willing to comply with those conditions, and made no objection to my proposal; but they, altogether distrusting their cause, would not consent.

[On another occasion, Athanasius, at a meeting with Constantius at Antioch, had asked to be confronted by his accusers. The Emperor refused this, and so did the accusers. The position of Constantius is illogical in that he now listens to Valens and Ursacius, who had gone to Rome and made public retraction of their calumnies against Athanasius, without any constraint being put on them by Constans, who had never interfered in the affairs of the Church.]

Cease, then, these proceedings, I ask you, and remember that you are a mortal man. Be afraid of the day of judgement, and keep yourself pure against that day. Do not intrude into ecclesiastical matters, and do not give commands to us concerning them; but learn them from us. God has put into your hands the kingdom; to us he has entrusted the affairs of the Church; and, as he who should steal the Empire from you would resist the ordinance of God, so likewise fear on your part lest, by taking upon yourself the government of the Church, you become guilty of a great offence. It is written, *Render unto Caesar the things that are Caesar's, and unto God the things that are God's.*¹ Neither, therefore, is it permitted *us* to exercise an earthly rule; nor have you, Sir, any authority to burn incense. These things I am writing to you out of a concern for your salvation. With regard to the subject on which you write, this is my determination: I do not agree with Arians, but I anathematize their heresy. Neither do I subscribe against Athanasius, whom both we and the Church of the Romans and the whole council, pronounced to be guiltless.

[Ossius goes on to reproach Constantius for his change of mind and for listening to the enemies of Athanasius.]

These men desire by your means to injure their enemy, and wish to make you the servant of their wickedness, that through your help they may sow the seeds of their accursed heresy in the Church. It is not a prudent thing to bring oneself into obvious danger for the pleasure of others. Stop, Constantius, I beg you, and be persuaded by me. It is proper for me to write as I do and for you not to despise what I write. (NPNF, altered.)

I was a confessor: we have no information about the exact circumstances.

a meeting with Constantius at Antioch: in 346, on his way home from his second exile.

who had made public retraction: the letters of Ursacius and Valens to Julius of Rome and to Athanasius are extant in Athanasius, *Hist. Arian.*, 26, and in *Apol.*

¹ Matt. 22.21

contra Arian., 58. Athanasius states that he had received copies from Paulinus, bishop of Trier.

Do not intrude, etc.: as Setton, *The Christian Attitude towards the Emperor in the fourth Century*, p. 91, points out, Ossius (Hosius) had changed his mind in the thirty years following the Council of Nicaea.

to burn incense: this need not be taken literally. Incense-burning was a Mithraic practice as well as Jewish (Deut. 33.10). For its use in the primitive Church see Rev. 5.8 and 8.3.

the Church of the Romans: see 4 above.

the whole council: i.e. of Sardica.

25 The Lapse of Liberius, 357

Athanasius, *Hist. Arian.*, 41

But Liberius, after he had been in banishment two years, gave way; and from fear of threatened death, was induced to subscribe. Yet even this only shows their violent conduct, and the hatred of Liberius against the heresy, and his support of Athanasius, so long as he was suffered to exercise a free choice. (LF.)

gave way... subscribe: it is unlikely that Liberius subscribed to the 'Blasphemy' of Sirmium (27 below): he probably subscribed to the first Creed of Sirmium of 351, which was Antioch 4 (6 above) plus twenty-seven anathemas, endorsed by the synod that condemned Photinus in that year.

26 Letter of Constantius to the Rulers of Axum, c. 357

Athanasius, *Apol. ad Const.*, 31

It is altogether a matter of the greatest care and concern to us, to extend the knowledge of the supreme God; and I think that the whole race of mankind claims from us equal regard in this respect, in order that they may pass their lives in accordance with their hope, being brought to the same knowledge of God, and having no differences with each other in their inquiries about justice and truth. Therefore considering that you are deserving of the same provident care as the Romans, and desiring to show equal regard for your welfare, we bid that the same doctrine be professed in your churches as in theirs. Send therefore speedily into Egypt the Bishop Frumentius to the most venerable Bishop George and the rest who are there, who have especial authority to appoint to these offices, and to decide questions concerning them. For of course you know and remember (unless you alone allege ignorance of what all men are well aware), that this Frumentius was advanced to his present rank by Athanasius, a man

who is guilty of ten thousand crimes; for he has not been able fairly to clear himself of any of the charges brought against him, but was at once deprived of his see, and now wanders about destitute of any fixed abode, and passes from one country to another, as if by this means he could escape his own wickedness.

Now if Frumentius shall readily obey our commands, and shall submit to an inquiry into all his administration, he will show plainly to all men, that he is in no respect opposed to the laws of the Church and the established faith. And being brought to trial, when he shall have given proof of his general good conduct, and submitted an account of his life to those who judge such matters, he shall receive his appointment from them, if it shall indeed appear that he has any right to be a bishop. But if he shall delay and avoid the trial, it will surely be very evident, that he has been induced by the persuasions of the wicked Athanasius to indulge impiety against God, choosing to follow the course of him whose wickedness has been made manifest.

And our fear is lest he should pass over into Axum and corrupt your people, by setting before them accursed and impious statements, and not only unsettle and disturb the Churches, and blaspheme the supreme God, but also thereby cause utter overthrow and destruction to the several nations whom he visits.

But I am sure that Frumentius will return home, perfectly acquainted with all matters that concern the Church, having derived much instruction, which will be of great and general utility, from the conversation of the most venerable George, and such other of the bishops as are excellently qualified to communicate such knowledge. May God continually preserve you, most honoured brethren. (NPNF, altered.)

The story of Frumentius, bishop of Axum in Abyssinia, is given by Rufinus (*HE*, I. 9), whose narrative is copied by other Church historians. Rufinus had the story from Aedesius, the companion of Frumentius, later a presbyter at Tyre. The date of this letter is after the intrusion of George at Alexandria.

to extend the knowledge of the supreme God: even, it would appear to the extent of interfering outside the limits of the Roman Empire, cf. Philostorgius, *HE*, III. 4–6 for Constantius' interest in the mission of Theophilus the 'Indian' to various Eastern lands. We do not know anything about the subsequent career of Frumentius.

was advanced to his present rank by Athanasius: Rufinus (loc. cit.) says of Athanasius, *nam is nuper sacerdotium suscepserat*, but the date is really very uncertain. It looks as though Frumentius was ordained bishop, without (effectively) passing through the lower clerical orders.

27 The Second Creed (the 'Blasphemy') of Sirmium, 357

Hilary, *De Synodis*, 11: in Greek in Athanasius, *De Synodis*, 28 and in Socrates, *HE*, II. 30.31–41

- 31 Since there appeared to be some misunderstanding respecting the faith, all points have been carefully investigated and discussed at Sirmium in the presence of our brothers and fellow-bishops, Valens, Ursacius, and Germinius.
- 32 It is evident that there is one God Almighty and Father, as is believed throughout the whole world; and his only Son Jesus Christ the Lord, our Saviour, begotten of the Father himself before the ages.
- 33 But it cannot and ought not to be preached that there are two Gods, for the Lord himself said, *I will go unto my Father and your Father, unto my God and your God.*¹ So there is God of all, as the Apostle has taught
- 34 us. *Is he the God of the Jews only? Is he not also of the Gentiles? Yes, of the Gentiles also: seeing it is one God which shall justify the circumcision by faith, and the uncircumcision through faith.*² And in all other things they agreed and could not allow any difference.
- 35 But since some or many persons were disturbed by questions concerning substance, called in Greek *ousia*, that is, to make it understood more exactly, *homoousion*, or what is called *homoiousion*, there ought to be no mention of this at all. Nor ought anyone to preach it for the reason and consideration that it is not contained in the divine Scriptures, and that it is above man's understanding, nor can any man declare the birth of the Son, of whom it is written, *Who shall declare his generation?*³ For it is plain that only the Father knows how he begat the Son, and the Son how he was begotten of the Father. There is no
- 36 question that the Father is greater. No one can doubt that the Father is greater than the Son in honour, dignity, splendour, majesty, and in the very great name of Father, the Son himself testifying, *He that sent me is*
- 37 *greater than I.*⁴ And no one is ignorant that it is Catholic doctrine that there are two Persons of Father and Son; that the Father is greater, and that the Son is subordinated, together with all things which the
- 38 Father has subordinated to him; that the Father has no beginning and is invisible, immortal, and impassible, but that the Son has been begotten of the Father, God from God, Light from Light, and that the generation of this Son, as has already been said, no one knows but his
- 39 Father: but that the Son of God himself, our Lord and God, as we read, took flesh, that is, a body, that is, manhood, of the womb of the Virgin Mary, as the Angel announced. But as all the Scriptures teach, and especially the Apostle, the teacher of the Gentiles himself, he took of Mary the Virgin manhood through which he shared in suffering.

¹ John 20.17

² Rom. 3. 29,30

³ Isa. 53.8

⁴ John 14.28

- 40 And the whole faith is summed up and secured in this, that the Trinity must always be preserved, as we read in the Gospel, *Go ye and baptize all nations, in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy*
 41 *Ghost*.¹ Complete and perfect is the number of the Trinity. Now the Paraclete, the Spirit, is through the Son, who was sent and came according to his promise in order to instruct, teach, and sanctify the apostles and all believers. (NPNF(Hilary), altered with acknowledgements to J. F. Bethune-Baker, *Introduction*, pp. 180–1.)

This creed is commonly known as 'the Blasphemy', as it was called by Hilary, *De Synodis*, 10. The 'first Creed of Sirmium' is Antioch 4, used at the deposition of Photinus in 351.

31. On *Valens* and *Ursacius* see also 7, 19, 21, 24 above.

Germinius: bishop of Cyzicus, translated to Sirmium by Constantius: deposed by the council of Ariminum in 359. After *Germinius*, Athanasius and Socrates add *and the rest*. *Germinius*, however, was restored and remained bishop of Sirmium until his death in 380.

35. *there ought to be no mention of this at all*: 'It was much too late in the day to seek to make peace by snatching the bone of contention away' (Bethune-Baker, *op. cit.*, p. 181).

37. *the Son is subordinated*: Athanasius adds, *to the Father*.

38. *The Father has no beginning . . . impassible*: it is implied that these qualities do not belong to the Son.

39. *of the womb . . . Mary*: omitted by Socrates.

There are no anathemas attached to this creed which rule out Arian propositions. The publication of this creed was followed by a reaction led by Basil of Ancyra, cf. 30 below.

28 The Surrender of Ossius (Hosius), 357

Sozomen, *HE*, IV. 6.13

Ossius at first refused to assent to it (i.e. to the 'Blasphemy') but force was used, and blows inflicted (as is reported) on the old man and he yielded his consent and signed (NPNF).

Hilary seems to judge Ossius as being the framer of the 'Blasphemy' (with Potamius of Lisbon); for example, in his *Liber contra Constantium*, 23, he calls it 'the ravings of Ossius'.

as is reported: Athanasius, *De Fuga sua*, 5.

he yielded his consent: but, according to Athanasius, *Historia Arianorum*, 45, 'he would not subscribe against Athanasius'. In *HE*, IV. 12.6 Sozomen says that Ossius and others yielded to compulsion, persuaded that the theological terms at issue were not used in Scripture and were beyond man's understanding.

¹ Matt. 28.19

29 Constantius the Forerunner of Antichrist

Athanasius, *Hist. Arianorum*, 77

Terrible indeed, and worse than terrible are such proceedings; yet conduct suitable to him who assumes the character of Anti-Christ. Who that beheld him as chorus leader of his pretended bishops, and presiding in ecclesiastical causes, would not justly exclaim that this was *the abomination of desolation*¹ spoken of by Daniel? For having put on the profession of Christianity, and entering into the holy places, and standing therein, he lays waste the Churches, transgressing their Canons, and enforcing the observance of his own decree. Will any one now venture to say that this is a peaceful time with Christians, and not a time of persecution? A persecution indeed, such as never arose before, and such as no one perhaps will again stir up, except *the son of lawlessness*,² do these enemies of Christ exhibit, who already present a picture of him in their own persons. Wherefore it especially behoves us to be sober, lest this heresy which has reached such a height of impudence, and has diffused itself abroad like the *poison of an adder*,³ as it is written in the Proverbs, and which teaches doctrines contrary to the Saviour; lest, I say, this be that *falling away*,⁴ after which he shall be revealed, of whom Constantius is surely the forerunner. (NPNF, slightly altered.)

In his *Apologia ad Constantium* of AD 357 Athanasius had shown great respect to the Emperor; now, in the *Historia Arianorum* of 358, he calls him 'patron of impiety and Emperor of heresy . . . godless, unholy, without natural affection . . . this modern Ahab, this second Belshazzar' (from K. M. Setton, *The Christian Attitude towards the Emperor in the fourth century*, pp. 78–9). The *Historia* was designed for supporters of Athanasius during his third exile.

In Athanasius, *De Synodis*, 5, Arianism is the forerunner of Antichrist.

as chorus leader (ἐξάρχων): keeping up the stage metaphor from *assumes the character*.

his pretended (νομιζόμενοι) *bishops*: cf. 21 above.

transgressing their canons: cf. 21 above.

a picture of him: i.e. of the son of lawlessness.

30 Aëtius, Eudoxius and the Synod of Ancyra, c. 358

Sozomen, *HE*, IV. 12–14

- 1 About this time, Aëtius broached his peculiar opinions concerning the Godhead. He was then deacon of the Church of Antioch, and had been ordained by Leontius. He maintained, like Arius, that the Son is

¹ Dan. 9.27

² 2 Thess. 2.8

³ Prov. 23.32

⁴ 2 Thess. 2.3

a created being, that he was created out of nothing, and that he is dissimilar from the Father. As he was extremely addicted to contention, very bold in his assertions on theological subjects, and prone to have recourse to a very subtle mode of argumentation, he was accounted as heretic, even by those who held the same sentiments as himself. When he had been, for this reason, excommunicated by the heterodox, he feigned a refusal to hold communion with them, because they had unjustly admitted Arius into communion after he had perjured himself by declaring to the Emperor Constantine that he maintained the doctrines of the council of Nicaea.

3.13.3 [On the death of Leontius, Eudoxius came to Antioch with Constantius' permission and installed himself as bishop without the consent of the bishops of Syria. He then openly upheld the Anomoean doctrines, and excommunicated those who differed with him. But George of Laodicea gave these expelled persons a letter to take to a synod called at Ancyra to consecrate a church, appealing to the bishops for action.]

4 The bishops assembled at Ancyra clearly perceived by the written statements of Eudoxius that he contemplated innovations (in doctrine) in company with his supporters at Antioch: they apprised the Emperor of this fact, and besought him that the doctrine established at Sardica, at Sirmium, and at other councils might be confirmed, and especially the dogma that the Son is like in substance to the Father. In order to proffer this request to the Emperor, they sent to him a deputation composed of the following bishops: Basil, bishop of Ancyra; Eustathius, bishop of Sebaste; Eleusius, bishop of Cyzicus; and Leontius, presbyter of the imperial bedchamber. (NPNF, altered.)

14.1.7 [The efforts of the delegation were successful, and Constantius sent a letter to the Church of Antioch against Eudoxius and Aëtius.]

12.1. *Aëtius*: see also Socrates, *HE*, II. 35; Sozomen, *HE*, III. 15. He was ordained deacon by Leontius, and was an instructor in religion of Gallus Caesar, half-brother of Julian. Aëtius was excommunicated at Constantinople in 361 (Sozomen, *HE*, IV. 23).

12.2. *that he maintained the doctrines*: the confession of faith, submitted to Constantine by Arius, evaded rather than acknowledged the vital points of the Creed of Nicaea (*NER* 295).

12.3. *Eudoxius*: bishop of Germanicia in Syria. Socrates, *HE*, II. 38 makes out that the conduct of Eudoxius was entirely opportunist and fraudulent.

13.4 *The bishops assembled at Ancyra*: as Valesius pointed out long ago, *ad loc.*, it is curious that Sozomen says nothing about the doctrinal work of this council, which set in motion a reaction against extreme Arianism.

Sardica: i.e. at the 'Eastern' council (7 above), which reaffirmed Antioch 4 (6 above).

Sirmium: the council of 351, which deposed Photinus and adopted Antioch 4 plus twenty-seven anathemas.

Eleusius does not appear to have been present at Ancyra.

31 Problems about *Homoousios*, c. 359Athanasius, *De Synodis*, 41, 43–5

- 41 Those who deny the council (of Nicaea) altogether, are sufficiently exposed by these brief remarks; those, however, who accept everything else that was defined at Nicaea, and doubt only about the Co-essential, must not be treated as enemies; nor do we here attack them as Ariomaniacs, nor as opponents of the Fathers, but we discuss the matter with them as brothers with brothers, who mean what we mean and dispute only about the word. For, confessing that the Son is from the essence of the Father, and not from another subsistence, and that he is not a creature nor work, but his genuine and natural offspring, and that he is eternally with the Father as being his Word and Wisdom, they are not far from accepting even the phrase Co-essential. Now such is Basil from Ancyra, who wrote concerning the faith. For only to say 'like according to essence' is very far from signifying 'of the essence', by which, rather, as they say themselves, the genuine relationship of the Son to the Father is signified. Thus tin is only like to silver, a wolf to a dog, and gilt brass to the true metal; but tin is not from silver, nor could a wolf be accounted the offspring of a dog. But since they say that he is 'of the essence' and 'like in essence', what do they signify by these but 'Co-essential'? For while to say only 'like in essence' does not necessary convey 'of the essence'; on the contrary, to say 'Co-essential' is to signify the meaning of both terms, 'like in essence' and 'of the essence.' . . .

[The analogy of human fatherhood and sonship may be used, with the proviso that the relationship of Father and Son transcends the human analogy.] For the Son is the Father's Word and Wisdom, and from this we learn the impassibility and indivisibility of such a generation from the Father. For not even man's word is part of him, nor proceeds from him according to passion (*κατὰ πάθος* i.e. *cum quadam passione* (Migne, PG, ad loc.)), much less God's Word, whom the Father declared to be his own Son, lest anyone, if he merely heard the expression 'Word', should suppose him impersonal (i.e. *ἀνυπόστατος*, without *hypostasis*), like the word of man: but, hearing that he is Son, he should acknowledge him to be living Word, and Wisdom possessing substance (*ἐνούσιος*).

- 43 This is sufficient to show that the meaning of the beloved ones i.e., the Semi-arians, is not foreign nor far from the 'Co-essential.' But since, as they allege (for I have not the Epistle in question), the bishops who condemned the Samosatene (i.e., at the council of Antioch, 268) have said in writing that the Son is not co-essential with the Father, and so it comes to pass that they, for caution and honour towards those who have so said, thus feel about that expression, it will be to the purpose cautiously to argue with them on this point also . . .

Certainly it is unbecoming to make the one conflict with the others; for all are Fathers; nor is it religious to settle, that these have spoken well, and those ill; for all of them fell asleep in Christ. Nor is it right to be disputatious, and to compare the respective numbers of those who met in the councils, lest the three hundred seem to throw the lesser into the shade; nor to compare the dates, lest those who preceded seem to eclipse those that came after. For all, I say, are Fathers; and yet not even the three hundred laid down anything new, nor was it in any self-confidence that they became champions of words not in Scripture, but they fell back upon Fathers, as did the others, and used their words.

- 44.5 [Athanasius then deals with the third-century controversy between Dionysius of Rome and his namesake of Alexandria over the use of *ὁμοούσιος* (see, for example, *NER* 225–6), and excuses the apparent discrepancy between the use and condemnation of this word.]

. . . If the Fathers of the two councils [*sc.* Antioch and Nicaea] made different mention of the ‘Co-essential’, we ought not in any respect to differ from them, but to investigate their meaning, and this will fully show us the argument of both the councils. For they who deposed the Samosatene, took ‘Co-essential’ in a bodily sense, because Paul had attempted sophistry and said, ‘Unless Christ has of man become God, it follows that he is Co-essential with the Father; and if so, of necessity there are three essences, one the previous essence and the other two from it’; and therefore, guarding against this, they said, with good reason, that Christ was not Co-essential. For the Son is not related to the Father in the way that *he* imagined.

But the bishops who anathematized the Arian heresy, understanding Paul’s craft, and reflecting that the word ‘Co-essential’ has not this meaning when used of things immaterial, and especially of God, and acknowledging that the Word was not a creature, but an offspring from the essence, and that the Father’s essence was the origin and root and foundation of the Son, and that he was of very truth his Father’s likeness, and not of different nature, as we are, and separate from the Father but that, as being from him, he exists as Son indivisible, as radiance is with respect to light, on these grounds reasonably asserted on their part, that the Son was ‘Co-essential.’ (NPNF, altered.)

41. *by these brief remarks*: i.e. by showing their contradictory views and their unwillingness to seek instruction on theological expressions (like *οὐσία*, cf. the last paragraph of the ‘Dated’ Creed (32 below)), which they allege to be obscure.

must not be treated as enemies: cf. 65 below (council of Alexandria, 362).

Basil from Ancyra, who wrote: the text is in Epiphanius, *Haer.*, 73.3–11. Basil and other moderates were moved to action by the publication of the second Creed of Sirmium (27 above).

43. *the beloved ones*: i.e. the Basilian party, or *Homoiousians* (from *Homoios*, 'like' and *Ousious*, 'essence') or Semi-Arians.

the Samosatene: i.e. Paul, bishop of Antioch, condemned in 268, cf. *NER* 228–31.

the three hundred: at Nicaea, as compared (in sect. 45) with the seventy bishops who deposed Paul.

32 The Fourth Creed of Sirmium, commonly called the 'Dated' Creed (22 May 359)

Athanasius, *De Synodis*, 8; Socrates, *HE*, II. 37.18–24

(The third Creed of Sirmium was Antioch 2 plus twenty-four anathemas used by Basil of Ancyra.)

18 The Catholic Faith was published in the presence of our Master the most religious and gloriously victorious Emperor Constantius Augustus, the eternal and august, in the consulate of the most illustrious Flavii, Eusebius and Hypatius, in Sirmium, on 22 May.

19 We believe in one Only and True God, Father Almighty, Creator and Framer of all things;

And in one only-begotten Son of God, who, before all ages, and before all beginning, and before all conceivable time, and before all comprehensible essence was begotten impassibly from God; through whom the ages were disposed, and all things were made; and him begotten as the only-begotten, Only from the only Father, God from God, like unto the Father who begat him, according to the Scriptures;
20 whose origin no one knows save the Father only who begat him. We know that he, only-begotten Son of God, at the Father's bidding came from the heavens for the abolishment of sin, and was born of the Virgin Mary, and consorted with the disciples, and fulfilled the Economy according to the Father's will, and was crucified, and died and descended into the parts beneath the earth, and regulated the things there, whom the gate-keepers of hell saw and shuddered,¹ and he rose from the dead the third day, and consorted with the disciples, and
21 fulfilled all the Economy, and when forty days were over, ascended into the heavens, and sits on the right hand of the Father, and will come in the last day of the resurrection with the glory of the Father, to render to everyone according to his works.

22 And in the Holy Ghost, whom the only-begotten of God Jesus Christ himself promised to send to the race of men, the Paraclete, as it is written, *I go to my Father, and he shall send unto you another Paraclete, even the Spirit of Truth: he shall take of mine, and shall teach and bring to your remembrance all things.*²

¹ Job 38.17, LXX

² Cf. John 16.7, 14, 15, 17; 14.16, 17, 26

- 23 But, whereas the term 'essence (οὐσία)' has been adopted by the Fathers in simplicity, and gives offence as being unknown to the people, because it is not contained in the Scriptures, it has seemed good to remove it, that 'essence' be never in any case used of God again, because the divine Scriptures nowhere refer to the 'essence' of
- 24 Father and Son. But we say that the Son is like the Father in all things, as also the Holy Scriptures say and teach. (NPNF, altered.)

This creed, the work of a committee which met at Sirmium, was presented for approval to the councils of Ariminum and Seleucia (in Cilicia). These parallel councils refused to assent to this creed: the council of Ariminum stood by the Creed of Nicaea: the council of Seleucia by the second Creed of Antioch (33 below). But the Emperor and the Homoean party succeeded in getting their way. At Nicé in Thrace, and at Constantinople, delegates from the Western and Eastern councils respectively were made to assent to a version of this creed in which the words *in all things* were omitted after *like*. Finally the 'Dated' Creed, 'in a slightly altered dress' (Kelly, *Creeds*, p. 294), was ratified at a council of Constantinople in January 360. On the result of this cf. Jerome, *Dial. contra Lucif.*, 19, 'After this Ursacius and Valens, the rest of their comrades in crime (a splendid lot of Christian bishops!), waved their palms in triumph, saying that they had not denied the Son to be a creature, but to be like the other creatures. Then the term *ousia* was abolished and 'Down with the faith of Nicaea!' was the cry. The whole world groaned and was astonished to find itself Arian.' (Based on NPNF.)

But, as Kelly, loc. cit., points out, 'Arianism is really a misnomer, for the creed asserts none of the articles of the old heresy and explicitly condemns Anomoeanism.' It remained the 'official' creed for about twenty years, during which the ground was being prepared for a return to the faith of Nicaea.

18. *On the 22 May*: Athanasius, *De Synodis*, 3 (quoted in Socrates, *HE*, II. 37.31ff) scoffs at the idea that the Catholic faith could be dated, for example, 'they prefaced it with the consulate, month and day of the present time, in order to prove to all discerning persons that theirs is not the ancient faith, but originated in the time of Constantius.' (NPNF (Socrates), altered.)

20. *descended into the parts beneath the earth, etc.*: this is the earliest creed that contains this clause, but cf., for example, Cyril of Jerusalem, *Catechetical Lectures*, 14.19 (with the reference to Job 38.17LXX).

24. *like the Father in all things*: cf. the Macrostichos (10 above) sect. 18.

33 The Council of Seleucia

Sozomen, *HE*, IV. 22.6,8–10,21–4

This council was the Eastern counterpart of the council of Ariminum (see above). According to Socrates, *HE*, IV. 39, it had first been intended to hold it at Nicomedia, Nicaea, or Tarsus. On this council, cf. Socrates, *HE*, II. 39–41. There were about 160 bishops present.

[After some preliminary skirmishing over procedure, it was decided to deal first with doctrinal questions.]

- 6 When they proceeded to the investigation of terms, some desired to reject the use of the term 'substance' (οὐσία), and appealed to the authority of the formulary of faith which had not long previously been compiled by Mark at Sirmium, and had been received by the bishops who were at the court, among whom was Basil, bishop of Ancyra. The majority were anxious for the adoption of the formulary of faith drawn up at the dedication of the Church of Antioch.
- 8 It was suspected, and with reason, that Acacius and his partisans absented themselves on account of the difference between their sentiments and those of the aforesaid bishops, and also because they desired to evade the investigation of certain accusations which had been brought against them; for, although they had previously acknowledged in writing to Macedonius, bishop of Constantinople, that the Son is in all respects like unto the Father, and of the same substance, now they fought entirely shy of their former professions.
- 9 After prolonged disputations and contention, Silvanus, bishop of Tarsus, declared, in a loud and peremptory tone, that no new formulary of faith ought to be introduced but that which had been approved at Antioch, and this alone ought to prevail. As this proposition was repugnant to the followers of Acacius, they withdrew, and the other bishops read the formulary of Antioch. The following day these bishops assembled in the church, closed the doors, and privately confirmed this formulary.
- 11–20 [Acacius eventually introduced a creed (given by Socrates, *HE*, II. 40; Athanasius, *De Synodis*, 29) which explicitly omitted all contentious terms. But the Acacians stated that they accepted *like the Father*. They were challenged with the query, *Like in what?*]
- 21 The dispute having taken this turn, they entered upon another inquiry, and asked the partisans of Acacius, in what they considered the Son to be like unto the Father. They replied that the Son is similar in will only, but not in substance, and the others thereupon insisted that he is similar in substance, and convicted Acacius, by a work which he had formerly written, that he had once been of their opinion. Acacius replied that he ought not to be judged from his own writings; and the dispute had continued with heat for some time, when Eleusius, bishop of Cyzicus, spoke as follows: 'It matters little to the council whether Mark or Basil has transgressed in any way, or whether they or the adherents of Acacius have any accusations to bring against each other; neither does the trouble devolve upon the council of examining whether their formulary be commendable or otherwise; it is enough to maintain the formulary which has been already confirmed at Antioch by ninety-seven bishops; and if any one desire to introduce any doctrine which is not contained therein, he ought to be held as an alien to religion and the Church.' Those who were of his sentiments
- 23 applauded his speech; and the assembly then arose and separated. The

- 24 following day, the partisans of Acacius and of George refused to attend the council; and Leonas, who had now openly declared himself to be of their sentiments, likewise refused in spite of all entreaties, to repair thither. (NPNF, slightly altered.)

[After a great deal of confused argumentation, the Acacians took the matter to Constantius.]

6. *compiled by Mark (of Arethusa) at Sirmium*: i.e. the 'Dated' Creed (32 above).

drawn up at the dedication: i.e. Antioch 2 of AD 341 (6 above).

8. *Macedonius, bishop of Constantinople*: Macedonius and Paul went through a series of mutual expulsions, see 7 above. The name of Macedonius became a label attached to the heresy against the Holy Spirit (64, 67–8 below), but it is not certain that the attachment is just.

24. *Leonas*: one of the secular officials in charge of the council. He sided with Acacius.

34 Acacius of Caesarea

Sozomen, *HE*, IV. 23.2

Acacius was, in fact, no common character; by nature he was gifted with great powers of intellect and eloquence, and of bringing his purposes to fruition. He was president of an illustrious Church, and could boast of Eusebius Pamphili as his teacher, whom he succeeded in the episcopate, and was more honourably known than any other, mainly by the reputation and succession of his books. Endowed with all these advantages, he succeeded with ease in whatever he undertook. (NPNF, altered.)

by the reputation and succession of his books: only fragments of these remain: it is particularly to be regretted that his *Life of Eusebius* has entirely perished.

35 The Anomoeans, 361

Socrates, *HE*, II. 45.9–14

- 9 The Acacians meanwhile became extremely anxious that another synod should be convened at Antioch, as they repented of having said that the Son was like the Father at all.
- 10 A small number of them, therefore, met in the following consulate of Taurus and Florentius, at Antioch in Syria, where the Emperor was at that time residing, Euzoius being bishop. A discussion was then renewed on some of those points which they had previously determined, in the course of which they said that the term like (ὅμοιος) ought to be erased from the form of faith which had been

published both at Ariminum and Constantinople. They no longer made any attempt at concealment but openly contended that the Son was *unlike* the Father in all things, not merely in relation to his *essence*, but even as respecting his *will*: they asserted boldly, also, as the Arians had already done, that he was made of *nothing*.

11 Those in that city who favoured the heresy of Aëtius, gave their assent to this opinion, and so, in addition to the general appellation of Arians, they were also termed Unlikers (*Anomoeans*) and Out-of-nothingites (*Exoucontians*) by those at Antioch who assented to *homoousios*: these last, nevertheless, were at that time divided among themselves on account of Meletius, as we have before observed.

12 The Homoousians, therefore, having asked them how they dared to affirm that the Son is unlike the Father, and has his existence from nothing, after having acknowledged him 'God from God' in their former creed, they endeavoured to elude this objection by such subterfuges as these:

13 'The expression "God from God"', said they, 'is to be understood in the same sense as the words of the apostle *but all things are of God*.¹ Whereupon the Son is *from* God, as being one of these *all things*; and it is for this reason the words "according to the Scriptures" are added in the publication of the creed.'

14 The author of this subterfuge was George, bishop of Laodicea (in Syria), who, being unskilled in such phrases, was ignorant of the manner in which Origen had formerly investigated and explained these expressions of the apostle. But, notwithstanding these evasive cavillings, their inability to bear the reproach and contumely they had drawn upon themselves induced them to fall back upon the creed which they had before put forth at Constantinople; and so each one retired to his own city. (NPNF, altered.)

Socrates is following the account in Athanasius, *De Synodis*, 31.

9. On Acacius of Caesarea and his supporters, see 33–4 above.

like the Father: i.e. at the council of Constantinople in January 360.

11. *Aëtius*: cf. 30 above.

on account of Meletius: cf. 36 below.

12. 'God from God': i.e. in the creed published at Constantinople in 360, see 32 above with note.

36 Meletius of Antioch, 361

Socrates, *HE*, II. 44

- 1 [Meletius had been made bishop of Sebaste in Armenia, after the
- 2 deposition of Eustathius; then he was transferred to Beroea in Syria, whence he attended the council of Seleuceia.]

¹ 1 Cor. 11.12

- 3 When the synod at Constantinople was held, the people of Antioch finding that Eudoxius, captivated by the magnificence of Constantinople, had contemned their Church, they sent for Meletius, and invested him with the bishopric of the Church at Antioch. Now he at first avoided all doctrinal questions, confining his discourses to moral subjects; but subsequently he constantly expounded to his auditors the creed of Nicaea, and taught the doctrine of the
- 5 *homoousion*. The Emperor being informed of this, ordered that he should be sent into exile; and caused Euzoïus, who had before been deposed together with Arius, to be installed bishop of Antioch in his
- 6 stead. Such, however, as were attached to Meletius, separated themselves from the Arian congregation, and held their assemblies apart: nevertheless, those who originally embraced the homoousian opinion would not communicate with them, because Meletius had been ordained by the Arians, and his adherents had been baptized by
- 7 them. Thus was the Antiochian Church divided, even in regard to those whose views on matters of faith exactly corresponded. (NPNF, altered.)

Cf. the accounts of Sozomen, *HE*, IV. 28 and Theodoret, *HE*, II. 27.

3. *the synod of Constantinople*: AD 360.

Eudoxius: bishop successively of Germanicia, Antioch, and Constantinople (AD 360–70), cf. 30 above.

4. *taught the doctrine of the homoousion*: Meletius was, according to Epiphanius, *Haer.* LXXIII. 23, a leading Homoean. Theodoret, *HE*, II. 27 and Epiphanius, loc. cit., 29–33, say that Constantius had organized a doctrinal exposition by George of Laodicea, Acacius of Caesarea, and Meletius.

5. *that he should be sent into exile*: Meletius was restored by Jovian in 364.

Euzoïus: Arian bishop of Antioch from 361 to 376 (?), one of the earliest Arians, cf. *NER* 295.

6. *those who had originally, etc.*: i.e. the party of Paulinus, see 65 below, with whom the Churches of Rome and Alexandria were in communion. Basil of Caesarea made strenuous efforts to attract the support of the West for Meletius, cf. 80 below.

37 The Status of Ecclesiastical and Clerical Property, 360

Cod. Theod. XVI 2.15

In the synod of Ariminum, when a discussion was held concerning the privileges of the Churches and clerics, a decree was issued to this effect, namely that the taxable units of land that appear to belong to the Church should be relieved of any compulsory public service and that all annoyance should cease. Our sanction, formerly issued, appears to have rejected this decree.

1. But clerics and those persons whom recent usage has begun to call gravediggers must be granted exemption from compulsory public services of a menial nature and from the payment of taxes, if, by means of conducting business on a very small scale, they should acquire meagre food and clothing for themselves. The rest, however, whose names were included on the register of tradesmen, at the time when the tax payments were officially made, shall assume the duties and tax payments of tradesmen, inasmuch as they have later joined the company of clerics.

2. As for those clerics who possess landed estates, however, Your Sublime Authority shall decree not only that by no means may they exempt other men's taxable units of land from the payment of taxes, but also that the aforesaid clerics must be compelled to make fiscal payments for the land which they themselves possess. For, indeed, We command all clerics, in so far as they are landowners, to assume the provincial payments of fiscal dues, especially since at the court of Our Tranquillity, other bishops who have come from sections of Italy and those also who have come from Spain and Africa, have esteemed that this regulation is very just, and that aside from those taxable units of land and the tax declaration which pertain to the Church, all clerics must be required to sustain all compulsory public services and to provide transportation. (Pharr, p. 443.)

Cf. *Cod Theod.* XVI. 2.40.

Our sanction, formerly issued: not now extant.

5 *Julian 'the Apostate', 360–63*

38 The Youth of the Emperor Julian

Julian, *Letter to the Athenians*, 270C–272A

- c That on the father's side I am descended from the same stock as Constantius on his father's side is well known. Our fathers were brothers, sons of the same father. And close kinsmen as we were, how
- D this most humane Emperor treated us! Six of my cousins and his, and my father who was his own uncle and also another uncle of both of us on the father's side, and my eldest brother he put to death without a trial; and as for me and my older brother (Gallus) he intended to put us to death, but finally inflicted exile upon us; and from that exile he released me, but him he stripped of the title of Caesar just before he murdered him.
- 271 [Constantius is now, however, alleged to have repented, and to regard his own childlessness and his ill success against the Persians as a requital for his murder of Gallus.]
- B As I said, they kept telling us and tried to convince us that Constantius had acted thus, partly because he was deceived and partly because he yielded to the violence and tumult of an undisciplined and mutinous army. This was the strain they kept up to soothe us when we had been imprisoned in a certain estate in Cappadocia; and they allowed no one to come near us, after they had summoned him from Tralles and had dragged me from the schools, though I was still a mere
- c boy. How shall I describe the six years we spent there? For we lived as though on the estate of a stranger, and were watched as though we were in some Persian garrison, since no stranger came to see us and not one of our old friends was allowed to visit us; so that we lived shut off from every liberal study and from all free intercourse, in a glittering servitude, and sharing the exercises of our own slaves as though they
- D were comrades. For no companion of our own age ever came near us or was allowed to do so. From that place barely and by the help of the gods I was set free, and for a happier fate; but my brother was imprisoned at court and his fate was ill-starred above all men who have ever yet lived. And indeed whatever cruelty or harshness was revealed in his disposition was increased by his having been brought up among those mountains. It is therefore I think only just that the Emperor should bear the blame for this also, he who against our will allotted to us that sort of bringing-up. As for me, the gods by means of philosophy
- 272 caused me to remain untouched by it and unharmed; but on my brother no one bestowed this boon. (W. C. Wright, *Julian* (Loeb), II, pp. 249–51, slightly altered.)

270C *sons of the same father*. i.e. of Constantius I: Julian's father was Julius Constantius, son of Constantius and Theodora.

six of my cousins and his, etc.: after the three sons of Constantine were proclaimed Augusti on 9 September 337, the troops massacred the other male members of the imperial family, only Gallus and Julian being spared or saved.

271B *partly because he was deceived, etc.*: Constantius was the only one of the sons of Constantine present, and it is hard to believe that the massacre took place without his connivance. Ammianus Marcellinus, *Res Gestae*, XXI. 16.8 appears to have no doubts as to his guilt.

a certain estate in Cappadocia: Macellum; on the treatment of the two brothers cf. A. J. Festugière, 'Julien à Macellum' (*JRS*, XLVII (1957), pp. 53–8), reproduced in his *Antioche païenne et chrétienne*, pp. 63ff). Gallus failed, as Caesar, to reveal any good qualities. He was made Caesar when Constantius was hard pressed in the civil wars of AD 350ff.

39 The Apostasy of Julian (1)

Ammianus Marcellinus, *Res Gestae*, XXI. 2.3–5

- 3 Therefore in the meantime he made no change in the existing condition of affairs, but arranged everything that occurred with a quiet and easy mind, gradually strengthening himself, in order to make the
- 4 increase of his power correspond with the increase of his dignity. And in order, without any hindrance, to conciliate the goodwill of all men, he pretended to adhere to the Christian religion, which in fact he had long since secretly abandoned, though very few were aware of his private opinions, giving up his whole attention to soothsaying and divination, and other arts which have always been practised by the
- 5 worshippers of the gods. But to conceal this for a while, on the day of the festival in January, which the Christians call Epiphany, he went into their church, and departed after offering prayer to their God in the usual manner. (Tr. Yonge, p. 246, altered, with acknowledgements to the translation of J. C. Rolfe (Loeb).)

5. *in January*: i.e. in 361 while he was still in the West. The first reference to the Epiphany in the West.

40 The Apostasy of Julian (2)

Ammianus Marcellinus, *Res Gestae*, XXII. 5.1–4

- 1 And although from his earliest childhood he was inclined to the worship of the gods, and gradually, as he grew up, became more attached to it, yet he was influenced by many apprehensions which made him act in things relating to that subject as secretly as he could.
- 2 But when his fears were ended, and he found himself at liberty to do

- what he pleased, he then showed his secret inclinations, and by plain and positive decrees ordered the temples to be opened, victims to be brought to the altars, and the worship of the gods to be restored. And in order to give more effect to his intentions, he ordered the priests of the different Christian sects, with the adherents of each sect, to be admitted into the palace and politely expressed his wish that their dissensions being appeased, each without any hindrance might fearlessly follow his own beliefs. He did this the more resolutely because, as long licence increased their dissensions, he thought he should never have to fear the unanimity of the common people, having found by experience that no wild beasts are so hostile to men as are most Christians to one another. (Tr. Yonge, pp. 282–3, altered, with acknowledgements to the translation by J. C. Rolfe (Loeb).)

41 Julian at Athens: A Less Friendly Account

Gregory, *Oratio*, V.23

Julian was a contemporary of Basil of Caesarea and his friend Gregory of Nazianzus at Athens university for some months in 355.

[Gregory recalls after Julian's death:]

There seemed to me to be no evidence of sound character in his unsteady neck, his twitching and hunched shoulders, his wandering eye and wayward glance, his uncertain and swaying walk, his proud haughty nose, his ridiculous facial expressions, his uncontrolled and very loud laugh, his head which jerked up and down for no reason, and his halting, gasping speech. (Tr. R. Browning, *The Emperor Julian*, p. 65, slightly altered.)

For similar derogatory comments on Julian's appearance and posturing at Antioch see 50 below.

42 Prudentius' Tribute to Julian

Prudentius, *Apotheosis*, 449–59

Yet one was left, her princes' ranks among,
As I remember well, when I was young;
A captain brave, an author wise of laws,
In speech, in action, worthy of applause;
Who loved his country well, but could not love
The worship of the One True God above;
Faithless to Heaven, though faithful to the State;
Prompt his imperial presence to abate

Before an earthenware Minerva's seat;
 To kiss the sandals on a Juno's feet;
 To fasten waxen tablets to the lap
 Of a Diana, and to vail his cap
 Low to Apollo's plaster images;
 To grovel at the shrine of Hercules;
 Or to burn entrails, that the smoke might rise,
 In Pollux' horse's honour, to the skies.
 (Sir George Young, Bart, in F. St J. Thackeray, *Translations from Prudentius*.)

Faithless to Heaven: Perfidus ille Deo, quamvis non perfidus Urbi (v.l. *Orbi*).

43 The Lynching of George, Intruding Bishop of Alexandria, 24 December 361

Ammianus Marcellinus, *Res Gestae*, XXII. 11.3–10

- 3 And after a short time, . . . the citizens of Alexandria . . . turned all
 their anger against George, the bishop, by whom they had, so to say,
 4 been often attacked with poisonous bites. George having been born in
 a fuller's shop, as was reported, in Epiphania, a town of Cilicia, and
 having caused the ruin of many individuals, was, contrary to both his
 own interest and to that of the commonwealth, ordained bishop of
 Alexandria, a city which from its own impulses, and without any special
 cause, is continually agitated by seditious tumults, as the oracles also
 5 show. Men of this irritable disposition were readily incensed by
 George, who accused numbers to the willing ears of Constantius, as
 being opposed to his authority; and, forgetting his profession, which
 counsels only what is just and merciful, he adopted the wicked acts of
 6 informers. And among other things he was reported maliciously to
 have informed Constantius that in the said city all the edifices which
 had been built by Alexander, its founder, at vast public expense, ought
 7 properly to be a source of profit to the treasury. To these wicked
 suggestions he added this also, which soon afterwards led straight to
 his destruction. As he was returning from court, and passing by the
 superb temple of the Genius (of the city), escorted by a large train, as
 was his custom, he turned his eyes towards the temple, and said, 'How
 long shall this sepulchre stand?' And many, hearing this, were
 thunderstruck, and fearing that he would seek to destroy this also,
 laboured to the utmost of their power to effect his ruin by secret plots.
 Suddenly there came the joyful news that Artemius was dead; at which
 all the populace, transported with unexpected joy, gnashed their teeth,
 and with horrid outcries set upon George, trampling upon him and

kicking him: they maltreated him in various ways, dragged him about spread-eagle fashion, and killed him.

- 9-10 [Two officials, Christians, were killed at the same time. The mob took the bodies to the shore where they were burnt and the ashes flung into the sea] fearing, as they shouted, that their remains would be collected and a temple raised over them, as over others who, being urged to forsake their religion, had preferred to endure terrible tortures even to a glorious death, and so, by keeping their faith inviolate, earned the appellation of martyrs. In truth the wretched men who underwent such cruel punishment might have been protected by the aid of the Christians, if both parties had not been equally exasperated by hatred of George. (Tr. Yonge, pp. 300-1, altered, with acknowledgements to the translation of J. C. Rolfe (Loeb).)

On the career of George see *DCB*, s.v. George of Cappadocia.

George was bishop from 356, when he supplanted Athanasius. He was a toady of Constantius, indulged in remarkable business ventures, and theologically was a supporter of Acacius. For his outrageous conduct, as seen by Athanasius, see *Ath. De Fuga sua*, 6-7.

6. *a source of profit*: from the rich offerings.

7. *the Genius of the city*: i.e. the *τύχη* or *Fortuna* of Alexandria.

this sepulchre: cf. 51 below.

8. *Artemius*: who had been military commander in Egypt.

9. On this treatment of bodies of Christians cf. what happened at Smyrna in 156 (*NER*, pp. 27-8, and at Lyons in 177 (*NER*, p. 42-3).

44 Julian: Reformed Paganism, 362

Ep. 49(22), 429C-432A, *ap.* Sozomen, *HE*, V. 16.5-13

To Arsacius, high priest of Galatia

- c The Hellenic religion does not yet prosper as I desire, and it is the fault of those who profess it; for the worship of the gods is on a splendid and magnificent scale, surpassing every prayer and every
 D hope. May Adrasteia pardon my words, for indeed no one, a little while ago, would have ventured even to pray for a change of such a sort or so complete within so short a time. Why, then, do we think that this is enough, why do we not observe that it is their benevolence to strangers, their care for the graves of the dead, and the pretended holiness of their lives that have done most to increase atheism? I believe that we ought really and truly to practise every one of these
 430 virtues. And it is not enough for you alone to practise them, but so must all the priests of Galatia, without exception. Either shame or persuade them into righteousness, or else remove them from their
 B priestly office, if they do not, together with their wives, children, and servants, attend the worship of the gods but allow their servants or sons

or wives to show impiety towards the gods and honour atheism more than piety. In the second place, admonish them that no priest may enter a theatre or drink in a tavern or control any craft or trade that is base and not respectable. Honour those who obey you, but those who
 c disobey, expel from office. In every city establish frequent hostels in order that strangers may profit by our benevolence; I do not mean for our own people only, but for others also who are in need of money. I have but now made a plan by which you may be well provided for this; for I have given directions that 30,000 *modii* of corn shall be assigned every year for the whole of Galatia, and 60,000 pints of wine. I order that one-fifth of this be used for the poor who serve the priests and the
 D remainder be distributed by us to strangers and beggars. For it is disgraceful that, when no Jew ever has to beg, and the impious Galileans support not only their own poor but ours as well, all men see
 431 that our people lack aid from us. Teach those of the Hellenic faith to contribute to public service of this sort, and the Hellenic villages to offer their first fruits to the gods; and accustom those who love the Hellenic religion to these good works by teaching them that this was our practice of old. At any rate Homer makes Eumaeus say:

Nay my friend, the wrong were mine
 To scorn a stranger, were he worse than you.
 B Strangers and beggars are in care divine
 How small soe'er the grace to those we show
 Is precious.¹

Then let us not, by allowing others to outdo us in good works, disgrace by such remissness, or rather, utterly abandon, the reverence due to the gods. If I hear that you are carrying out these orders I shall be filled with joy. (W. C. Wright, *Julian* (Loeb), III, pp. 67–71.)
 C–D [Julian continues by urging Arsacius, as priest, not to be subservient to secular officials, pointing out that within the temple the priest has absolute authority.]

429B. *high priest*: the idea of a pagan hierarchy was used by Maximus Daia c. 308 (NER 245), but, for Egypt, it probably goes back to the time of the Ptolemies, and for Cyprus see JHS, IX (1888), p. 254. As *Pontifex Maximus* Julian gives direction to his clergy, not only as to ritual, but also as to character and ethics, cf. *Fragment of an epistle to a priest* (288A–305D, Loeb, II, pp. 296–338) and *Ep. 63* (20), *To the High priest Theodorus* (452A–454B, Loeb, III, pp. 55–61).

429C. *Adrasteia*: 'the goddess "whom none may escape" is a variant of Nemesis, often invoked in a saving clause' (Wright, op. cit., ad loc.).

429D. *atheism*: Julian retains this word as a description of Christianity.

430B. *no priest may enter a theatre*: cf. *Fragment of a letter to a priest*, 304B–C (Loeb, II, p. 335).

¹ Homer, *Odyssey*, 14.56ff. Tr. J. W. Mackail.

hostels: cf. the establishment of Basil at Caesarea in Cappadocia.

430D. *no Jew ever has to beg*: yet in the early Empire Jewish beggars were common at Rome, cf. Martial, XII 57.13, *A matre doctus . . . rogare Judaeus*.

the impious Galileans support not only their own poor, etc.: cf. *Misopogon*, 363B, 'Not one of those in need goes near the temples' (Wright, *op. cit.*), and *Fragment of an epistle to a priest*, 305B–D: 'We must pay especial attention to this point, and by this means effect a cure. For when it came about that the poor were neglected and overlooked by the priests, (C) then I think the impious Galileans observed this fact and devoted themselves to philanthropy. And they have gained an ascendancy in the worst of their deeds through the credit they win for such practices. For just as those who entice children with a cake, and by throwing it to them two or three times induce them to follow them, and then, when they are far away from their friends cast them on board a ship and sell them as slaves, and that which for the moment seemed sweet, proves to be bitter for all the rest of their lives—by the same method, I say, (D) the Galileans also began with their so-called love-feast, or hospitality, or service of tables—for they have many ways of carrying it out and hence call it by many names—and the result is that they have led very many into atheism . . .' (W. C. Wright, *Julian* (Loeb), II, pp. 337–9).

45 Julian: To the Alexandrians, Against Athanasius

Julian, *Ep.* 51(47), 432C–435D

If your founder had been one of the Galileans, men who have
 D transgressed their own law and have paid the penalties they deserved, since they elected to live in defiance of the law and have introduced a new doctrine and newfangled teaching, even then it would have been unreasonable for you to demand back Athanasius. But as it is, though Alexander founded your city and the lord Serapis is the city's patron
 431 god, together with his consort the Maiden, the Queen of all Egypt, Isis . . .¹ not emulating the healthy part of the city; but the part that is diseased has the audacity to arrogate to itself the name of the whole.

I am overwhelmed with shame, I affirm it by the gods, O men of Alexandria, to think that even a single Alexandrian can admit that he is a Galilean.

A–D [To be so is to fly in the face of the whole past history of the city, and indeed of Egypt, in which the genuine Jews were once slaves, a country which had enjoyed signal honours and benefits from gods and men.] It was certainly not by the preachings of Jesus that they (the Ptolemies) increased her renown, nor by the teaching of the Galileans, detested of the gods, did they perfect the administration which she enjoys and to which she owes her present good fortune.

¹ Some words are missing in the Greek.

434 Yet you have the audacity not to adore any one of these gods; and you think that one whom neither you nor your fathers have ever seen, even Jesus, ought to rank as God the Word. But the god whom from time immemorial the whole race of mankind has beheld and looked up to and worshipped, and from that worship prospered, I mean mighty D Helios, his intelligible father's living image, endowed with soul and intelligence, cause of all good¹ . . . if you heed my admonition, do ye lead yourselves even a little towards the truth. For you will not stray from the right road if you heed one who till his twentieth year walked in that road of yours, but for twelve years now has walked in this road I speak of, by the grace of the gods.

435 Therefore, if it please you to obey me, you will rejoice me the more. But if you choose to persevere in the superstition and instruction of wicked men, at least agree among yourselves and do not crave for Athanasius. In any case there are many of his pupils who can comfort well enough those itching ears of yours that yearn to hear impious B words. I only wish that, along with Athanasius, the wickedness of his impious school had been suppressed. But as it is you have a fine crowd of them and need have no trouble. For any man whom you elect from the crowd will be in no way inferior to him for whom you crave, at any rate for the teaching of the scriptures. But if you have made these requests because you are so fond of the general subtlety of C Athanasius—for I am informed that the man is a clever rascal—then you must know that for this very reason he has been banished from the city. For a meddlesome man is unfit by nature to be a leader of the people. But if this leader is not even a man but only a contemptible puppet, like this great personage who thinks he is risking his head, this surely gives the signal for disorder. Wherefore, that nothing of the sort D may occur in your case, as I long ago gave orders that he depart from the city, I now say, let him depart from the whole of Egypt. (W. C. Wright, *Julian* (Loeb), III, pp. 143–51.)

Athanasius had taken up his episcopal functions again on 21 February 362. Julian's restoration did not mean that he could do so, cf. edict quoted below.

432D. *Galileans*: a conjecture: MSS. 'others.'

their own law: i.e. the Jewish law, cf. Julian, *Against the Galileans*, 238Bff (Wright, op. cit., III, pp. 389ff).

Alexander founded your city: in 331 BC, to become the most famous of his many foundations.

434C. *God the Word*: cf. *Against the Galileans*, 333D: 'For ye have indeed seen, if not God the Father, still God who is the Word.' (Wright, op. cit., III, p. 415.)

434D. *mighty Helios, his intelligible father's living image*: To Julian, the Sun (Hélios) is the supreme object of worship. In his thoughts there are three worlds, each with its sun, the intelligible (νοητός), the intellectual (νοερός),

¹ Some words are missing in the Greek.

and the visible. From the 'intelligible' world and its sun all things proceed, but the 'visible' world does not do so immediately, but through the 'intellectual' world, which lies between the other two. In the present passage Julian is referring to the 'intellectual' sun. In his work *The Caesars*, 336B, Constantine the Great and his sons are released by Jupiter from their penalties in the world to come for the sake of their ancestors Claudius II and Constantius I who had been sun worshippers. (Wright, op. cit., II, p. 413.) For Julian's mystical Neo-Platonism, see P. Athanassadi-Fowden, *Julian and Hellenism, an Intellectual Biography*, Oxford University Press 1981.

435D. *I long ago gave orders: Ep. 26 (24) 398C–399A*: 'One who had been banished by so many imperial decrees issued by many Emperors ought to have waited for at least one imperial edict, (D) and then on the strength of that returned to his own country, and not displayed rashness and folly, and insulted the laws as though they did not exist. For we have not, even now, granted to the Galileans who were exiled by Constantius of blessed memory to return to their churches, but only to their own countries. Yet I learn that the most audacious Athanasius, elated by his accustomed insolence, has again seized what is called among them the episcopal throne, and that this is not a little displeasing to the God-fearing citizens of Alexandria (399A). Wherefore we publicly warn him to depart from the city forthwith, on the very day that he shall receive this letter of our clemency. But if he remain within the city, we publicly warn him that he will receive a much greater and more severe punishment.' (W. C. Wright, *Julian* (Loeb), III, pp. 75–7.)

Julian wrote also to Ecdicus, Prefect of Egypt (*Ep. 6(46)*, Wright, op. cit. III, pp: 141–3) demanding the expulsion of Athanasius. For the sequel see 46 below.

46 The Flight of Athanasius, under Julian

Socrates, *HE*, III. 14.1–6

1 But he fled again, saying to his intimates,

Let us retire for a brief while, my friends:

'Tis but a little cloud, and soon will pass.

He then immediately embarked, and using the Nile, fled into Egypt,
 2 closely pursued by those who sought to take him. When he understood that his pursuers were not far off, his companions kept urging him to fly once more into the desert, but by a clever trick he effected his
 3 escape. He persuaded those who accompanied him to turn back and meet his pursuers, which they did immediately; and on approaching them the recent fugitives were simply asked 'where they had seen
 4 Athanasius'; they replied that 'he was quite close' and that 'if they
 5 hurried they would soon overtake him'. Being thus deluded, they started all the faster in pursuit but to no purpose; but Athanasius made
 6 good his retreat and returned secretly to Alexandria; and there he remained concealed until the persecution was at an end. (NPNF, altered.)

1. *Let us retire . . .*: iambic trimeters are easily recognizable in the Greek text. *into Egypt*: as distinct from Alexandria.
2. *into the desert*: where he had gone during his previous flight.

47 Julian: the Rescript on Teachers, 362

Julian, *Ep.* 42(36), 422A–424A

The Latin form of this rescript is in *Cod. Theod.* XIII 3.5 (13 June 362). The Christians (Galileans) are not actually mentioned, but the edict deals with the morals of intending teachers.

'A circular letter interpreting the law indicates what Julian means by good morals' (J. Bidez, *Vie de l'Empereur Julien*, p. 263), i.e. Christians were to be excluded from teaching as dishonest, in view of the fact that the subjects taught were entirely derived from Greek literature.

I hold that a proper education results, not in laboriously acquired symmetry of phrases and language, but in a healthy condition of mind, I mean a mind that has understanding and true opinions about things good and evil, honourable and base. Therefore, when a man thinks one thing and teaches his pupils another, in my opinion he fails to educate exactly in proportion as he fails to be an honest man. And if the divergence between a man's convictions and his utterances is merely in trivial matters, that can be tolerated somehow, though it is wrong. But if in matters of the greatest importance a man has certain opinions and teaches the contrary, what is that but the conduct of hucksters and not honest but thoroughly dissolute men in that they praise most highly the things that they believe to be most worthless, thus cheating and enticing by their praises those to whom they desire to transfer their worthless wares? Now all who profess to teach anything whatever ought to be men of upright character, and ought not to harbour in their souls opinions irreconcilable with what they publicly profess; and, above all, I believe that it is necessary that those who associate with the young and teach them rhetoric should be of that upright character; for they expound the writings of the ancients, whether they be rhetoricians or grammarians, and still more if they are sophists. For these claim to teach, in addition to other things, not only the use of words, but morals also, and they assert that political philosophy is their peculiar field. Let us leave aside, for the moment, the question whether this is true or not. But while I applaud them for aspiring to such high pretensions I should applaud them still more if they did not utter falsehoods and convict themselves of thinking one thing and teaching their pupils another.

423 [The poets and orators of Greece acknowledged that the gods had inspired them.] I think it is absurd that men who expound the works of these writers should dishonour the gods whom they used to honour.

Yet, though I think this is absurd, I do not say that they ought to change their opinions and then instruct the young. But I give them this choice; either not to teach what they do not think admirable, or if they
 B wish to teach, let them first really persuade their pupils that neither Homer nor Hesiod nor any of these writers whom they expound and have declared to be guilty of impiety, folly and error in regard to the gods, is such as they declare. For since they make a livelihood and receive pay from the works of these writers, they thereby confess that they are most shamefully greedy of gain, and that, for the sake of a few drachmae, they would put up with anything. It is true that, until now,
 C there were many excuses for not attending the temples, and the terror that threatened on all sides absolved men for concealing the truest beliefs about the gods. But since the gods have granted us liberty, it seems to me absurd that men should teach what they do not believe to be sound. But if they believe that those whose interpreters they are and for whom they sit, so to speak, in the seat of the prophets, were wise
 D men, let them be the first to emulate their piety towards the gods. If, however, they think that those writers were in error with respect to the most honoured gods, then let them betake themselves to the churches of the Galileans to expound Matthew and Luke, since you Galileans are obeying them when you ordain that men shall refrain from temple-worship. For my part, I wish that your ears and your tongues might be *born anew*,¹ as you would say, as regards these things in which may I ever have part, and all who think and act as is pleasing to me.

424 For religious and secular teachers let there be a general ordinance to this effect: Any youth who wishes to attend the schools is not excluded; nor indeed would it be reasonable to shut out from the best way boys who are still too ignorant to know which way to turn, and to overawe them into being led against their will, as one cures the insane, except that we concede indulgence to all for this sort of disease. For we ought, I think, to teach, but not punish, the demented. (W. C. Wright, *Julian* (Loeb), III, pp. 117–23.)

422D. *sophists*: like Libanius, in whose works we can see the importance of the moral content of education.

423B. *For since they make a livelihood, etc.*: many educated Christians had come to terms with ancient pagan education, for example, Victorinus at Rome and Prohaeresius at Athens.

423C. *the terror that threatened on all sides*: i.e. in the latter years of Constantius' reign.

424A. *this sort of disease*: on Christianity as a disease cf. 139(2) below, and Julian, *Ep.* 27(58) to Libanius, 401C. (Wright, *op. cit.*, III, p. 207.)

Julian's rescript is condemned by Christian authors, and even by Ammianus Marcellinus, *Res Gestae*, XXII. 10.7; XXV. 4.20: 'inhumane, that ought to be overwhelmed by eternal silence'.

¹ Cf. John 3.3,7

The Christian reply is seen in the efforts of the two Apollinarii, father and son, who produced biblical epics, tragedies, and dialogues to take the place of the works that Christians were forbidden to teach, cf. Socrates, *HE*, III. 16.1ff; Sozomen, *HE*, V. 18.3ff.

48 Julian: To the People of Bostra, 1 August 362

Julian, *Ep.* 52(41), 435D–438C

436 I thought that the leaders of the Galileans would be more grateful to me than my predecessor in the administration of the Empire. For in his reign it happened to the majority of them to be sent into exile, persecuted and cast into prison, and moreover, many whole communities of those who are called 'heretics' were actually butchered, as at Samosata and Cyzicus, in Paphlagonia, Bithynia and Galatia, and among many other tribes also villages were sacked and completely devastated; whereas, during my reign, the contrary had
B happened. For those who had been exiled have had their exile remitted, and those whose property was confiscated have by a law of mine received permission to recover all their possessions. Yet they have reached such a pitch of raving madness and folly that they are exasperated because they are not allowed to behave like tyrants or to persist in the conduct in which they at one time indulged against one another, and afterwards carried on towards us who revered the gods. They therefore leave no stone unturned, and have the audacity to incite the populace to disorder and revolt, whereby they both act with impiety towards the gods and disobey my edicts, humane though these are. At least I do not allow a single one of them to be dragged against
C his will to worship at the altars; nay, I proclaim in as many words that, if any man of his own free will choose to take part in our lustral rites and libations, he ought first of all to offer sacrifices of purification and supplicate the gods that avert evil. So far am I from ever having wished or intended that any one of those sacrilegious men should partake in the sacrifices that we most revere, until he has purified his soul by
D supplications to the gods, and his body to the purifications that are customary.

437 It is, at any rate, evident that the populace who have been led into error by those who are called 'clerics', are in revolt because this licence has been taken from them. For those who have till now behaved like tyrants are not content that they are not punished for their former crimes, but, longing for the power they had before, because they are no longer allowed to sit as judges and draw up wills and appropriate the inheritances of other men and assign everything to themselves, they pull every string of disorder, and, as the proverb says, lead fire through a pipe to fire, and dare to add even greater crimes to their former

- b wickedness by leading on the populace to disunion. Therefore, I have decided to proclaim to all communities of citizens by means of this edict, and to make known to all, that they must not join in the feuds of the clerics or be induced by them to take stones in their hands or disobey those in authority; but they may hold meetings for as long as they please and may offer on their own behalf the prayers to which they are accustomed; that, on the other hand, if the clerics try to induce them to take sides on their behalf in quarrels, they must no longer consent to do so, if they would escape punishment.
- c I have been led to make this proclamation to the city of Bostra in particular, because their bishop Titus and the clerics, in the reports that they have issued, have made accusations against their own adherents, giving the impression that, when the populace were on the point of breaking the peace, they themselves admonished them not to cause sedition. Indeed, I have subjoined to this my decree the very
- d words which he dared to write in his report: 'Although the Christians are a match for the Hellenes in numbers, they are restrained by our admonition that no one disturb the peace in any place.' For those are the very words of the bishop about you. You see how he says that your good behaviour was not of your own choice, since, as he at any rate alleged, you were restrained against your will by his admonitions!
- 438 Therefore, of your own free will, seize your accuser and expel him from the city, but do you, the populace, live in agreement with one another, and let no man be quarrelsome or act unjustly. Neither let those of you who have strayed from the truth outrage those who worship the gods duly and justly, according to the beliefs that have been handed down to us from time immemorial; nor let those of you who worship the gods outrage and plunder the houses of those who
- b have strayed rather from ignorance than of set purpose. It is by reason that we ought to persuade and instruct men, not by blows, or insults, or bodily violence. Wherefore, again and often I admonish those who are zealous for the true religion not to injure the communities of the Galileans or attack or insult them. Nay, we ought to pity rather than hate men who in matters of the greatest importance are in such evil
- c case. (For in very truth the greatest of all blessings is reverence for the gods, as, on the other hand, irreverence is the greatest of all evils. It follows that those who have turned aside from the gods to corpses and relics pay this as their penalty.) Since we suffer in sympathy with those who are afflicted by disease, but rejoice with those who are being released and set free by the aid of the gods. Given at Antioch on the First of August. (W. C. Wright, *Julian* (Loeb), III, pp. 129–35.)

This letter is a general one, and the reference to Bostra appears in 437C.

Bostra: an important city of 'Arabia', about seventy miles south of Damascus. On his becoming Emperor, Julian allowed exiles to return, for example,

Athanasius. The sequel of their return was not necessarily peaceful, as Julian goes to show in 436B.

436A. *who are styled heretics*: i.e. non-Homoeans. Socrates, *HE*, II. 38, reports in detail persecution of the Novatianists in Paphlagonia at the behest of Bishop Macedonius of Constantinople (deposed in 360) in c. 350, and similarly by Bishop Eleusis of Cyzicus (Socrates, *ibid.*), but the sources of the other acts of violence mentioned by Julian are not known.

436B. *to be dragged against his will*: Julian takes up an attitude of complete toleration, cf. 438B below, and 51n below.

437A. *sit as judges, etc.*: Constantine had given bishops this power (*Cod. Theod.* I. 27.1, Sozomen, *HE*, I. 9.5).

draw up wills: cf. *Cod. Theod.* III. 1.3.

437C. *Titus*: Bishop of Bostra from c. 362-71.

438C. *from the gods to corpses*: pagans said that churches, and Christians said that temples were tombs, cf. the remark of George, intruding bishop at Alexandria, referring to the temple of the *Fortuna* of that city, 'How long shall this sepulchre stand?' (43 above).

49 Julian and the Church of Edessa, 362-3

Julian, *Ep.* 43(40), 424C-425A

Hecebolius, to whom this letter is addressed, was presumably an official in Edessa.

I have behaved to all the Galileans with such kindness and benevolence that none of them has suffered violence anywhere or been dragged into a temple or threatened into anything else of the sort against his own will. But the followers of the Arian Church, in the insolence bred by their wealth, have attacked the followers of Valentinus and have committed in Edessa such rash acts as could never occur in a well-ordered city. Therefore, since by their most admirable law they are bidden to sell all they have and give to the poor that so they may attain more easily to the kingdom of the heavens,¹ in order to aid those persons in that effort, I have ordered that all their funds, namely, that belong to the Church of the people of Edessa, are to be taken over that they may be given to the soldiers, and that its property be confiscated to my private purse. This is in order that poverty may teach them to behave properly and that they may not be deprived of that heavenly kingdom for which they still hope. And I publicly command you citizens of Edessa to abstain from all feuds and rivalries, else will you provoke even my benevolence against yourselves, and being sentenced to the sword and to exile and to fire pay the penalty for disturbing the good order of the commonwealth.
(W. C. Wright, *Julian* (Loeb), III, pp. 127-9 slightly altered.)

¹ Luke 12.33

A Church had existed in Edessa since c. 200 (cf. *NER* 130).

On his way to Persia, Julian passed Edessa by, perhaps because of its Christianity (Sozomen, *HE*, VI. 11).

424C. *the followers of the Arian Church*: Constantius had handed the great church of St Thomas over to them.

the followers of Valentinus: the second-century Gnostic teacher (*NER* 61–8). There must now have been few of these, but cf. 101 below for another attack on them.

50 Julian and the Antiochenes, 363

Ammianus Marcellinus, *Res Gestae*, XXII. 14.3

For he was ridiculed as an ape; again, as a dwarf spreading out his narrow shoulders, wearing a beard like that of a goat, and taking huge strides, as if he had been the brother of Otus and Ephialtes, whose height Homer speaks of as enormous. At another time, he was 'the slaughterer' instead of the worshipper, in allusion to the number of his victims; and this piece of ridicule was seasonable and deserved, because out of ostentation he was fond of carrying the sacred vessels in place of the priests, attended by a train of girls. And although these and similar jests made him very indignant, he nevertheless kept silence, and concealed his emotions, and continued to celebrate the festivals. (Tr. Yonge, p. 305, altered.)

a beard: the theme of the *Misopogon*: cf. note on 51 below.

carrying the sacred vessels, etc.: cf. Prudentius in 42 above.

51 Julian: the Temple of Apollo at Daphne near Antioch

Julian, *Misopogon*, 361A–363A

361 For besides this you falsely accused the neighbouring cities, which are holy and the slaves of the gods, like myself, of having produced the satires which were composed against me; though I know well that those cities love me more than their own sons, for they at once restored the shrines of the gods and overturned all the tombs of the godless, on the signal that was given by me the other day; and so excited were they in mind and so exalted in spirit that they even attacked those who were offending against the gods with more violence than I could have wished.

B But now consider your own behaviour. Many of you overturned the altars of the gods which had only just been erected and with difficulty did my indulgent treatment teach you to keep quiet. And when I sent

away the body from Daphne, some of you, in expiation of your conduct towards the gods, handed over the shrine of the god of Daphne to those who were aggrieved about the relics of the body, and the rest of you, whether by accident or on purpose, hurled against the shrine that fire which made the strangers who were visiting your city shudder, but gave pleasure to the mass of your citizens and was ignored and still is ignored by your Senate.

D [Julian relates how he had gone to Daphne to a long-established festival in honour of Apollo, expecting to find a solemn and magnificent display.]

362. But when I entered the shrine, I found there is no incense, not so much as a cake, not a single beast for sacrifice. For the moment I was amazed and thought that I was still outside the shrine, and that you were waiting the signal from me, doing me that honour because I am supreme pontiff. But when I began to inquire what sacrifice the city intended to offer to celebrate the annual festival in honour of the god, the priest answered, 'I have brought with me from my own house a goose as an offering to the god, but the city this time has made no preparations.'

Thereupon, being fond of making enemies, I made in the Senate a very unseemly speech which perhaps it may now be pertinent to quote to you. 'It is a terrible thing', I said, 'that so important a city should be more neglectful of the gods than any village on the borders of the Pontus. Your city possesses ten thousand lots of land privately owned, and yet when the annual festival in honour of the god of her forefathers is to be celebrated for the first time since the gods dispelled the cloud of atheism, she does not produce in her own behalf a single bird, though she ought if possible to have sacrificed an ox for every tribe; or, if that were too difficult, the whole city in common ought at any rate to have offered to the god one bull on her own behalf.'

D [Julian upbraids the Antiochenes for their expenses on their own dinners and feasts, and for their failure to honour the god while] every one of you allows his wife to carry everything out of his house to the Galileans, and while your wives feed the poor at your expense they inspire a great admiration for godliness in those who are in need of such bounty. (W. C. Wright, *Julian* (Loeb), II, pp. 485-91.)

361A. *the satires, etc.*: Julian found most Antiochenes quite antipathetic to him, and to his religious reforms: most of them were Christians.

with more violence, etc.: cf. Julian, *Ep.* 7(37), 367C: 'I affirm by the gods that I do not wish the Galileans to be either put to death or unjustly beaten, or to suffer any other injury; but nevertheless I do assert absolutely that the god-fearing must be preferred to them. For through the folly of the Galileans almost everything has been overturned, whereas through the grace of the gods are we all preserved. Wherefore we ought to honour the gods and the god-fearing, both men and cities.' (W. C. Wright, *Julian* (Loeb), III, p. 123.)

361B. *the body from Daphne*: the body of Babylas, bishop of Antioch, a martyr in the persecution of Decius, had been buried in Daphne to counteract the pagan influence that proceeded from the temple of Apollo: this temple contained a famous statue of the god by the sculptor Bryaxis.

that fire, etc.: on 22 October 362. The reason for the fire, whether 'accident, negligence or sacrilege' (Bidez, *Vie de Julien*, p. 288) was never discovered.

362B. *being fond of making enemies . . . unseemly speech*: the *Misopogon* (Beard-hater) is a satire by Julian on himself, directed to the Antiochenes after he fell out with them: for *their* views cf. Ammianus Marcellinus in 50 above.

52 The Death of Julian, 26 June 363

Ammianus Marcellinus, *Res Gestae*, XXVI. 3.6

Julian set out from Antioch on his Persian campaign on 5 March 363. After a series of brilliant initial successes, he was halted before the walls of Ctesiphon. His army retired up the left bank of the Tigris where it was exposed to increasing attacks from the Persians. In one of these engagements Julian was fatally wounded. Ammianus Marcellinus took part in Julian's expedition as a staff officer, but was not an eyewitness of these events.

Julian, careless of his own safety, shouting and raising his hands, tried to make it clear to his men that the enemy had fled in disorder, and to rouse them to a still more furious pursuit, rushed boldly into the fight. His guards, who had scattered in their alarm, were crying to him from all sides to get clear of the mass of fugitives, as dangerous as the fall of a badly built roof, when suddenly, — no one knows whence —, a cavalryman's spear grazed the skin of his arm, pierced his ribs and lodged in the lower lobe of his liver.

(The wound proved to be fatal and the Emperor died at about midnight, after discussing with the philosophers Maximus and Priseus who had accompanied the army, regarding the nobility of the soul.)

(Tr. J. C. Rolfe (Loeb).)

The mystery of the identity of Julian's slayer remains (though a Saracen auxiliary seems the most probable). Libanius accused the Christians, but Eutropius, Sextius Rufus and Aurelius Victor agree with Ammianus. In the 5th century, legend had developed, with opinion tending towards the view that Julian may have fallen at the hand of one of his own men (thus Socrates *HE*, III. 21). Many believed that Julian had fallen victim to Divine wrath (Sozomen, *HE*, VI. 2); later, the heavenly avenger was identified as Mercurius, a martyr of the persecution of Decius. (See N. H. Baynes, 'The death of Julian the Apostate in a Christian legend' (*JRS* XXVII (1937), pp. 22–29 and W. H. C. Frend, 'Fragments of an *Acta Martyrum* from Q'asr Ibrim', (*Jahrbuch für Antike und Christentum* 29, 1986, pp. 66–70.)

6 *The Restoration of Christianity under Jovian and Valentinian I, 363–75*

53 The Emperor Jovian, 27 June 363– 17 February 364

Socrates, *HE*, III.25.4–9, 17–18

The death of Julian brought about a swift return to the religious status quo under Constantius. On 19 August Julian's death was announced in Alexandria. On 6 September, Athanasius sailed from that city to meet the new Emperor Jovian. The encounter took place at Hierapolis in Mesopotamia on 27 September. Meantime, pagan temples were again being closed (Socrates, *HE*, III.24) and Christianity proclaimed the religion of the Empire in Alexandria on 16 September (*Hist. Acephala* 12). The various contending groups of bishops lost no time in attempting to persuade Jovian to side with them, the petitioners in the extract given below being Basil of Ancyra and the *homoiousion* bishops. Unfortunately for them Jovian was a committed Nicene and was being encouraged in this by Athanasius. (Dates from O. Seeck, *Regesten*.)

- 4 The Emperor having perused it, dismissed them without any answer:
he merely declared: 'I abominate contentiousness; but I honour and
5 remark became generally known, it subdued the violence of those who
were desirous of altercation and thus was realized the design of the
6 Emperor. At this time the contentious spirit of the Acacians was shown
up, and their readiness to accommodate their opinions to those
invested with supreme authority became more conspicuous than ever.
7 For assembling themselves at Antioch in Syria, they negotiated with
Meletius, who had separated from them a little before, and embraced
8 the 'homoousian' opinion. This they did because they saw Meletius
was in high estimation with the Emperor, who then resided at Antioch;
9 and assenting therefore by common consent, they drew up a
declaration of their sentiments acknowledging the *homoousion* and
ratifying the Nicene Creed and presented it to the Emperor.
- 17 Now the Emperor had resolved to allay if possible the contentious
spirit of the parties at variance, by bland manners and persuasive
language toward them all; declaring that he 'would not molest anyone
on account of his religious sentiments, and that he should love and
highly esteem such as would zealously promote the unity of the
18 Church'. The philosopher Themistius attests that such was his
conduct, in the oration he composed on his 'consulate'. For he extols
the Emperor for his overcoming the wiles of flatterers by freely
permitting everyone to worship God according to the dictates of his

conscience. And in allusion to the check which the sycophants received, he facetiously observes that experience has made it evident that such persons 'worship the purple and not God; and resemble the changeful Euripus, which sometimes rolls its waves in one direction, and at others the very opposite way'. (NPNF, altered.)

4. *having perused it*: a petition of Basil of Ancyra and others, asking for the expulsion of 'anomoean' bishops.

5. *the Acacians*: whose watchword was 'like in all things', or simply 'like'. Cf. 32-5 above.

8. *Meletius*: cf. 36 above.

18. *Themistius*: a famous orator, whose activity extended from the reign of Constantius to that of Theodosius I.

Euripus: the strait between Euboea and the Greek mainland.

54 Toleration under Valentinian I

Ammianus Marcellinus, *Res Gestae*, XXX 9.5

Lastly, he was especially remarkable during his reign for his moderation in this particular, that he remained neutral in religious differences; and never troubled anyone, nor issued any orders in favour of one kind of worship or another; nor did he promulgate any threatening edicts to bow down the necks of his subjects to the form of worship to which he himself was inclined; but he left those parties as he found them undisturbed. (Tr. Yonge, p. 573, altered.)

55 Except for the Manichees, 372

Cod. Theod. XVI.5.3

Wherever an assembly of Manichaeans or such a gathering of this sort is found, their teachers shall be punished with a heavy penalty. Those who assemble shall also be segregated from the company of men as infamous and ignominious, and the houses and habitations in which the profane doctrine is taught shall undoubtedly be appropriated to the resources of the treasury. (Pharr, p. 450.)

Issued by Valentinian I and Valens.

With this edict cf. the edict of Diocletian against the Manichees (*NER* 236) and 231 below.

56 Riots in Rome: Damasus and Ursinus, 26 October 366

Ammianus Marcellinus, *Res Gestae*, XXVII.3.12–15

- 12 Damasus and Ursinus, being both consumed with a superhuman desire to obtain the bishopric, formed parties and carried on the conflict with great asperity, the partisans of each carrying their violence to actual battle, in which men were wounded and killed. And as Viventius was unable to put an end to, or even soften, these disorders, he was at last by their violence compelled to withdraw to the suburbs.
- 13 Ultimately, Damasus got the best of the strife by the strenuous efforts of his partisans. It is a well-known fact that on one day one hundred and thirty-seven dead bodies were found in the basilica of Sicininus, where there is a meeting place for the Christians' worship. And the populace who had been thus roused to a state of ferocity were with great difficulty restored to order.
- 14 I do not deny, when I consider the ostentation that reigns at Rome, that those who desire such rank and power may be justified in labouring with all possible exertion and vehemence to obtain their wishes; since, after they have succeeded, they will be free from care for the future, being enriched by offerings from matrons, riding in carriages, dressing splendidly, and feasting luxuriously, so that their
- 15 entertainments surpass even royal banquets. And they might be really happy if, despising the vastness of the city, behind which they hide their faults, they were to live in imitation of some of the bishops in the provinces, whom the most rigid abstinence in eating and drinking, and plainness of apparel, and eyes always cast on the ground, recommend to the everlasting Deity and his true worshippers as pure and reverent men. (Tr. Yonge, p. 441, altered from J. C. Rolfe (Loeb).)

Damasus was bishop of Rome from 366 to 384.

12. *Viventius*: Prefect of the City.

13. *Damasus got the best of the strife*: 'As for Damasus, his victory had cost him too dear: his promotion had been accompanied by too much political action, too many imperial rescripts, too many corpses. The whole of his Pontificate felt the effects of it' (Duchesne, *The Early History of the Church*, E. tr., II, p. 366).

basilica of Sicininus: now Santa Maria Maggiore.

57 Clergy and the Decurionate

1 Julian Withdraws Immunity, 362

Cod. Theod. XII 1.50

Decurions who evade their compulsory public services on the ground that they are Christians shall be recalled (Pharr, p. 349).

they are Christians, i.e. the clergy, who had received immunity from Constantine (*Cod. Theod.* XVI.2.2, cf. Eusebius, *HE*, X.7 (*NER* 254)), and from Constantius (*ibid.* XVI.2.9; 2.11).

2 Partial Restoration only: Decurions who became Ordained, 364

Cod. Theod. XII 1.59

If any person should choose service in the Church, he shall either make a near kinsman a decurion in his stead by transferring to him his own property, or he shall cede his property to the municipal council which he left. Of course, a person must of necessity be recalled to the municipal council if he did neither of these when he began to be a cleric. (Pharr, p. 351.)

Cf. *ibid.* XII.1.121-3 (Pharr, pp. 359-60). In *ibid.* XII.1.49 (AD 361) bishops are to be allowed to retain their property, as are other clergy of outstanding virtue. Constantine had forbidden ordination to decurions and their families (*ibid.* XVI.2.3 (*NER* 277); 2.6).

3 Decurions who became Monks, 370

Cod. Theod. XII.1.63

Certain devotees of idleness have deserted the compulsory services of the municipalities, have betaken themselves to solitudes and secret places, and under the pretext of religion have joined with bands of hermit monks. We command, therefore, by Our well-considered precept, that such persons and others of this kind who have been apprehended within Egypt shall be routed out from their hiding places by the Count of the Orient and shall be recalled to the performance of the compulsory public services of their municipalities, or in accordance with the tenor of Our sanction, they shall forfeit the enjoyments of their family property, which We decree shall be claimed by those persons who are going to undertake the performance of their compulsory public services. (Pharr, p. 351, slightly altered.)

58 Clergy Prohibited from Hunting for Legacies, 370

Cod. Theod. XVI.2.20

Ecclesiastics, ex-ecclesiastics, and those men who wish to be called by the name of continents shall not visit the homes of widows and female wards, but they shall be banished by the public courts, if hereafter the kinsmen, by blood or marriage, of the aforesaid women should suppose that such men ought to be reported to the authorities.

We decree, further, that the aforesaid clerics shall be able to obtain nothing whatsoever, through any act of liberality or by a last will, of those women to whom they have attached themselves privately under the pretext of religion. Everything that may have been left by the aforesaid women to any one of the aforesaid ecclesiastics shall be ineffective to such an extent that they shall not be able, even through an interposed person, to obtain anything either by gift or by testament. Furthermore, if by chance after the admonition of Our law the aforesaid women should suppose that anything ought to be bestowed on the aforesaid men, either by gift or by last will, such property shall be appropriated by the treasury. If, on the other hand, the aforesaid men should receive anything through the will of the aforesaid women, to whose succession or property they are assisted either by the civil law or by benefit of the edict, they shall take it as near kinsmen. (Pharr, p. 443–4.)

As a comment on this edict, cf. Jerome, *Ep.* LII.6 'Shameful to say, idol-priests, play-actors, jockeys, and prostitutes can inherit property: clergymen and monks alone lie under a legal disability, a disability enacted not by persecutors, but by Christian Emperors. I do not complain of the law, but I grieve that we have deserved a statute so harsh. Cauterizing is a good thing, no doubt; but how is it that I have a wound which makes me need it? The law is strict and far-seeing, yet even so rapacity goes on unchecked. By a fiction of trusteeship we set the statute at defiance: and, as if Imperial decrees outweigh the mandates of Christ, we fear the laws and despise the Gospels.' (NPNF.)

7 *Christianity Beyond the Roman Frontier*

A ARMENIA AND PERSIA 364–81

59 The Synod of Ashtishat, 365

Faustus of Byzantium, *History of Armenia*, iv. 4, *ap.* V. Langlois, *Collection des Historiens de l'Arménie*, I. 239f

Nerses set out on his journey, and arrived in the province of Taron, whither he summoned all the bishops of Armenia. Assembled in the village of Ashtishat, where there stood the principal church, the mother of all the churches, and whither ordinarily the ancients summoned the synodal assemblies, they began to deliberate on the re-establishment of order in the Church and on the unity of the faith. All showed themselves unanimous at the council in establishing rules that were to be general and obligatory throughout all the monastic orders of Armenia, except in regard to marriage. The holy pontiff Nerses imposed only one thing on all, namely, the customs of the Apostles, to wit, that all should by their counsel, persuasion and zeal guide the people in the way of good works. Nerses was the first to do what he required of others. . . . He ordained that the most suitable sites should be chosen for building hospices for the reception of the sick, the lepers and the paralytics – in a word, for all who were stricken with any malady whatsoever. He established also hospitals for lepers, and for ordinary sick folk. [He (and this council) also ordered that the sick were not to leave their own homes to beg, and that everyone was to attend to their wants.]

He bade men respect the laws of marriage; to be mutually faithful: in particular, not to contract marriage with near kinsfolk; to avoid incest, and to have no illicit relations with exceptionally beautiful girls, as was once the practice . . .

From this time, the churches were revived and enjoyed perfect peace. Everywhere the bishops found themselves surrounded with honour and consideration, throughout the whole extent of Great Armenia. Prosperity in all its amplitude reigned throughout the Church in general; pomp and magnificence adorned the principal churches; the number of clergy increased daily. He multiplied the number of churches in villages and in desert places. One may say the same of the monks.

In all districts of Armenia, he founded schools, for the Greek and the Syriac languages. (Kidd, *Documents II*, pp. 153–4, altered.)

Nerses I was Catholicus, or supreme bishop of Armenia, from 364 to 374. The history of this Church was a troubled one, owing to the conflicts of kings with successive *catholici*. Nerses had himself been educated at Caesarea in Cappadocia, and wished to bring the Armenian Church into line with the faith and practice of the West.

60 Ephraim the Syrian, d. c. 370

Sozomen, *HE*, III.15.1–5

- 1 Ephraim the Syrian was entitled to the highest honours, and was the
greatest ornament of the Catholic Church. He was a native of Nisibis,
- 2 or his family was of the neighbouring territory. He devoted his life to
monastic philosophy; and although he received no instruction, he
became, contrary to all expectation, so proficient in the learning and
language of the Syrians, that he comprehended with ease the most
- 3 abstruse speculations of philosophy. His style of writing was so replete
with splendid oratory and with richness and temperateness of thought
that he surpassed the most approved writers of Greece. If the works of
these writers were to be translated into Syriac, or any other language,
and divested of the beauties of the Greek language, they would retain
little of their original elegance and value. The productions of Ephraim
have not this disadvantage: they were translated into Greek during his
life, and translations are even now being made, and yet they preserve
much of their original force, so that his works are not less admired
- 4 when read in Greek than when read in Syriac. Basil, who was
subsequently bishop of the metropolis of Cappadocia, was a great
admirer of Ephraim, and was astonished at his erudition. The opinion
of Basil, who is universally confessed to have been the most eloquent
man of his age, is a stronger testimony, I think, to the merit of
- 5 Ephraim, than anything that could be indited to his praise. It is said
that he wrote three hundred thousand verses, and that he had many
disciples who were zealously attached to his doctrines. (NPNF, slightly
altered.)

Ephraim was the greatest writer, poet, and preacher of the Syriac Church. Originally from Nisibis, he migrated to Edessa when the former city was given to the Persians by Jovian, 363.

On the sources for Ephraim, see A. Vööbus, *Literary, critical and historical Studies in Ephrem the Syrian* (Stockholm, 1958).

3. *beauties*: καρυκεία, lit. rich cookery (*condimenta*).

B THE GOTHS

61 Ulfila c. 311–c. 381

Auxentius of Durostorum, *Epistola de fide, vita, et obitu Ulfilae*, 55–61; text in F. Kauffmann, *Aus der Schule des Wulfila*, pp. 73ff

- 55 I cannot praise Ulfila as he deserves, and I cannot dare to be completely silent, as I owe him more than all others, since he laboured more abundantly in me. In my early youth he received me as a pupil from my parents, and taught me divine learning, revealed the truth to me, and by the mercy of God and the grace of Christ, brought me up in the faith as his son, both in the natural and spiritual sense.
- 56 By the providence of God and the mercy of Christ for the salvation of many among the Goths, Ulfila, a reader, was ordained bishop at the
- 57 age of thirty [the age at which David became king and prophet, Joseph entered into the service of Pharaoh, and Christ began his ministry.
- 58 The mission of Ulfila reformed the Goths. Later on persecution broke out].
- 59 After the violent onset of persecution involved in martyrdom many servants of Christ, both male and female, the most holy and blessed Ulfila, having completed only seven years of his episcopate, was driven out of barbarian territory with a great multitude of confessors and was honourably received in Roman territory, while Constantius of blessed memory was still Emperor and [just as God had led his people by Moses from Egypt, and across the sea, so he led his fellow Christians
- 60 across the Danube. He continued as bishop for forty years in all.]
- 61 After he had completed forty years he became by imperial command to Constantinople for a disputation against the †Pneumatomachi† [where he took ill and died].

Auxentius' letter was incorporated by Maximinus, a Gothic bishop, in his work *Against Ambrose*. Though written by one who claimed to be a pupil of Ulfila, it is not unfortunately an entirely reliable source.

56. *Ulfila was ordained bishop, etc.*: Philostorgius, *HE*, II.5 explains that Ulfila was the descendant of Cappadocian Christians carried off by the Goths in the third century, and that he was ordained bishop by 'Eusebius (i.e. of Nicomedia) and the other bishops who were with him', when he had come on an embassy to Constantine (Constantius must be meant). The ordination must have taken place before 342 and therefore we may place the birth of Ulfila about 311.

59. *having completed only seven years of his episcopate*: Auxentius appears to be mistaken about the passage of the Danube. He places it about 348, but Ammianus Marcellinus, *Res Gestae*, XXI.1.3–4 places the Gothic migration in 376. Socrates, *HE*, IV.33–4, and Sozomen, *HE*, VI.37 connect it, and the persecution, with a war between the Gothic chieftains Athanaric and Fritigern, but these accounts are confused. Sozomen makes Ulfila director of the migration, and Jordanes, *Getica*, 51, also mentions him in connection with it.

Constantius of blessed memory: the Gothic Christians were Arians, and hence could so regard Constantius.

led his people by Moses: Philostorgius, loc. cit., states that the Emperor would often speak of him as 'the Moses of our time'.

61. *to Constantinople*: this must refer to about 382–3. Sozomen, *HE*, IV.24.1 states that Ulfila was at the council of Constantinople in 360.

the †Pneumatomach†: the text is very corrupt and the exact sense cannot be determined.

62 The Gothic Bible

Philostorgius, *HE*, II.5

Accordingly Ulfila took the greatest care of them in many ways, and amongst others, he reduced their language to a written form, and translated into their vulgar tongue all the books of Holy Scripture, with the exception of the Books of Kings, which he omitted, because they are a mere narrative of military exploits, and the Gothic tribes were especially fond of war, and were in more need of restraints to check their military passions than of spurs to urge them on to deeds of war. But those books have the greatest influence in exciting the minds of readers, inasmuch as they are regarded with great veneration, and are adapted to lead the hearts of believers to the worship of God. (Tr. Walford, p. 436.)

The Gothic Bible is now only partly extant.

63 How the Goths became Arians

Theodoret, *HE*, IV.37

- 1 To those ignorant of the circumstances it may be worth while to explain how the Goths got the Arian plague. After they had crossed the Danube, and made peace with Valens, the infamous Eudoxius, who was on the spot, suggested to the Emperor to persuade the Goths to accept communion with him. They had indeed long since received the rays of divine knowledge and were being nurtured in the apostolic
- 2 doctrines, 'but now', said Eudoxius, 'community of opinion will make the peace all the firmer'. Valens approved of this counsel and proposed to the Gothic chieftains an agreement in doctrine, but they replied that
- 3 they would not consent to forsake the teaching of their fathers. At the period in question their bishop Ulfila was implicitly obeyed by them and they received his words as laws which none might break. Partly by the fascination of his eloquence and partly by the bribes with which he baited his proposals Eudoxius succeeded in inducing him to persuade

- 4 the barbarians to embrace communion with the Emperor, so Ulfila won them over on the plea that the quarrel between the different parties was really one of personal rivalry and involved no difference in doctrine. The result is that up to this day the Goths assert that the Father is greater than the Son, but they refuse to describe the Son as a creature, although they are in communion with those who do so. Yet they cannot be said to have altogether abandoned their ancestral teaching, since Ulfila in his efforts to persuade them to join in communion with Eudoxius and Valens denied that there was any difference in doctrine and that the difference had arisen from mere empty strife. (NPNF, slightly altered.)

1. *After they had crossed the Danube*: see notes on 61 above.

Eudoxius: bishop of Constantinople from 360 to 370, cf. above.

3. *Ulfila*: see 61–2 above.

On the Arian Goths in Constantinople, cf. Theodoret, *HE*, V.30, who tells us that John Chrysostom assigned them a church with Gothic-speaking catholic clergy, where he frequently preached himself through an interpreter.

8 *Further Doctrinal Disputes in the East*

A THE HOLY SPIRIT IN THE GODHEAD

64 The Beginnings of Heresy about the Holy Spirit, c. 358

Athanasius, *Ep. ad Serapionem*, 1.1

In the earlier stages of the Arian controversy little attention was paid to the question of the Divinity of the Spirit. But it was natural that the question should be raised. The opponents against whom Athanasius is here writing to Serapion, bishop of Thmuis, are called by him *Tropici*, from their 'figurative exegesis of Scripture (τρόπος=figure)' (Kelly, *Doctrines*, p. 256). They are almost certainly Egyptian, and are independent of the Macedonian heresy, so called after Macedonius of Constantinople.

Your sacred Kindness's letter was delivered to me in the desert. Though the persecution directed against us was indeed bitter, and a great search made by those who sought to slay us, yet *the Father of mercies and God of all comfort*¹ cheered us by your letter. As I remembered your Kindness and all my friends, I imagined that you were with me at that moment. I was indeed very glad to have your letter. But when I read it, I began again to be despondent because of those who once for all set themselves to make war against the truth. You write, beloved and truly longed for, yourself also in distress, that certain persons, having forsaken the Arians on account of their blasphemy against the Son of God, yet oppose the Holy Spirit, saying that he is not only a creature, but actually one of the *ministering spirits*,² and differs from the angels only in degree. In this they pretend to be fighting against the Arians; in reality they are controverting the holy faith. For as the Arians in denying the Son deny also the Father, so also these men in speaking evil of the Holy Spirit speak evil also of the Son. The two parties have divided between them the offensive against the truth; so that, with the one opposing the Son and the other the Spirit, they both maintain the same blasphemy against the Holy Triad. As I regarded these things and reflected deeply upon them, I grew despondent because the devil had got another chance to make game of those who are acting his folly; and I had decided to keep silence at this juncture. But because of your Holiness's entreaty, and on account of the spirit of innovation and the diabolical impetuosity displayed by these people, I write this letter in brief, though I am scarce able to do this much; only that you, making these facts your excuse, may supply

¹ 2 Cor. 1.3

² Heb. 1.14

what it lacks in the light of your own understanding, and the argument against this unholy heresy may be complete. (C. R. B. Shapland, *The Letters of St Athanasius concerning the Holy Spirit*, pp. 58–61, altered.)

in the desert: i.e. during his third exile, which effectively began in February 356, though Athanasius may have remained hidden in Alexandria till 358.

deny also the Father. 'by denying the eternity of the Son they necessarily deny the eternal Fatherhood of God' (Shapland, *op. cit.* ad loc.).

though I am scarce able, etc.: this kind of self-depreciation is almost a literary commonplace.

65 The Council of Alexandria, 362

Athanasius, *Tomus ad Antiochenos*, 3–7

The reign of Julian, when the Emperor was actively opposed to Christianity, brought about a lessening of theological tensions within the Church. This letter from the council of Alexandria was intended particularly to cure the schism that had rent the Church of Antioch since the exile of Eustathius under Constantine (*NER* 301): see also 80, 204 below.

The emissaries of the council to the Antiochenes were Eusebius of Vercellae and Asterius of Petra (?) in Arabia.

- 3 As many then as desire peace with us, and specially those who assemble in the old town, and again those who are seceding from the Arians, call to yourselves, and receive them as parents their sons, and welcome them as tutors and guardians; and unite them to our beloved Paulinus and his people, without requiring more from them than to anathematize the Arian heresy and confess the faith confessed by the holy Fathers at Nicaea, and to anathematize also those who say that the Holy Spirit is a creature and separate from the essence of Christ. For this is in truth a complete renunciation of the abominable heresy of the Arians, to refuse to divide the Holy Trinity, or to say that any part of it is a creature. For those who, while pretending to cite the faith confessed at Nicaea, venture to blaspheme the Holy Spirit, do nothing more than in words deny the Arian heresy while they retain it in thought. But let the impiety of Sabellius and of Paul of Samosata also be anathematized by all, and the madness of Valentinus and Basileides, and the folly of the Manichaeans. For if this be done, all evil suspicion will be removed on all hands and the faith of the Catholic Church alone be exhibited in purity.
- 4 But that we, and they who have ever remained in communion with us, hold this faith, we think no one of yourselves nor any one else is ignorant. But since we rejoice with all those who desire reunion, but especially with those that assemble in the old town, and as we glorify the Lord exceedingly, as for all things so especially for the good purpose of these men, we exhort you that concord be established with them on these terms, and, as we said above, without further conditions,

without namely any further demand upon yourselves on the part of those who assemble in the old town, or Paulinus and his fellows propounding anything else, or anything beyond the Nicene definition.

- 5 And prohibit even the reading or publication of the documents, much talked of by some, as having been drawn up concerning the faith at the synod of Sardica. For the synod made no definition of the kind. For whereas some demanded, on the ground that the Nicene synod was defective, the drafting of a creed, and in their haste even attempted it, the holy synod assembled in Sardica was indignant, and decreed that no statement of faith should be drafted, but that they should be content with the faith confessed by the Fathers at Nicaea, inasmuch as it lacked nothing but was full of piety, and that it was undesirable for a second creed to be promulgated, lest that drafted at Nicaea should be deemed imperfect, and a pretext be given to those who were often wishing to draft and define concerning faith. So that if a man propound the above or any other document, stop them, and persuade them rather to keep the peace. For in such men we perceive no motion save only contentiousness. For as to those whom some were blaming for speaking of three *hypostases*, on the ground that the phrase is unscriptural and therefore suspicious, we thought it right indeed to require nothing beyond the confession of Nicaea, but on account of the (present) contention we made inquiry of them, whether they meant, like the Arian madmen, subsistences foreign and strange, and alien in essence from one another, and that each *hypostasis* was divided apart by itself, as is the case with creatures in general and in particular with those begotten of men, or like different substances, such as gold, silver, or brass; – or whether, like other heretics, they meant three beginnings and three gods, by speaking of three *hypostases*.

They assured us in reply that they neither meant this nor had ever held it. But upon our asking them ‘What then do you mean by it, or why do you use such expressions?’, they replied, Because they believed in a Holy Trinity, not a trinity in name only, but existing and subsisting in truth, ‘both a Father truly existing and subsisting, and a Son truly substantial and subsisting and a Holy Spirit subsisting and really existing do we acknowledge’, and that neither had they said there were three gods or three beginnings, nor would they at all tolerate such as said or held so, but that they acknowledge a Holy Trinity but One Godhead, and one beginning, and that the Son is coessential with the Father, as the Fathers said; while the Holy Spirit is not a creature, nor external, but proper to and inseparable from the essence (οὐσία) of the Father and the Son.

- 6 Having accepted then these men’s interpretation and defence of their language, we made inquiry of those blamed by *these* for speaking of one *hypostasis*, whether they use the expression in the sense of Sabellius, to the negation of the Son and the Holy Spirit, or as though

the Son were non-substantial or the Holy Spirit impersonal. But they in their turn assured us that they neither meant this nor had ever held it, but, 'We use the word *hypostasis* thinking it the same thing to say *hypostasis* or Essence (οὐσία);' 'But we hold that there is One, because the Son is of the Essence of the Father, and because of the identity of nature. For we believe that there is one Godhead, and that it has one nature, and not that there is one nature of the Father, from which that of the Son and of the Holy Spirit are distinct.' Well, thereupon they who had been blamed for saying there were three Subsistences agreed with the others, while those who had spoken of one Essence, also confessed the doctrine of the former as interpreted by them. And by both sides Arius was anathematized as an adversary of Christ, and Sabellius and Paul of Samosata, as impious men, and Valentinus and Basileides as aliens from the truth, and Manichaeus as an inventor of mischief. And all, by God's grace, and after the above explanations, agree together that the faith confessed by the Fathers at Nicaea is better than such phrases, and that for the future they would prefer to be content to use its language.

- 7 But since also certain seemed to be contending together concerning the Economy of the Saviour in the flesh, we inquired of both parties. And what the one confessed, the others also agreed to, that the Word did not, as he *came to the prophets*, so dwell in a holy man at the consummation of the ages, but that the Word himself became flesh, and *being in the Form of God, took the form of a servant*,¹ and from Mary after the flesh became man for us, and that thus in him the human race is perfectly and wholly delivered from sin and quickened from the dead, and is brought unto the kingdom of the heavens. For they confessed also that the Saviour had not a body without a soul, nor without sense or intelligence; for it was not possible, when the Lord had become man for us, that his body should be without intelligence: nor was the salvation effected in the Word himself a salvation of body only, but of soul also. And being Son of God in truth, he became also Son of Man, and being God's only-begotten Son, he became also at the same time *firstborn among many brethren*.¹ Wherefore neither was there one Son of God *before Abraham*,² another after Abraham: nor was there one that raised up Lazarus, another that asked concerning him; but the same it was said as man, '*Where doth Lazarus lie?*'³ and as God raised him up: the same that as man and in the body spat, but divinely as Son of God opened the eyes of the man blind from his birth;⁴ and while, as Peter says,⁵ in the flesh he suffered, as God opened the tombs and raised the dead. For which reasons, thus understanding all that is said in the Gospel, they assured us that they

¹ Phil. 2.7¹ Rom. 8.29² John 8.58³ John 11.34⁴ Mark 8.22ff⁵ 1 Pet. 4.1

held the same truth about the Word's Incarnation and becoming Man. (NPNF, altered.)

3. *In the old town*: the majority of the Antiochene Christians, under Meletius; the Eustathians, headed by the presbyter Paulinus, had been granted a small church in the new town. The letter views the situation from the point of view of the Eustathians, with whom Athanasius was in communion.

That the Holy Spirit is a creature: cf. 64, 66–8 below.

5. *the document . . . at the synod of Sardica*: see 8 above. It now suited Athanasius to play down the authenticity of the document.

if any man propound: as had been done at Antioch in 341 (6 above).

three hypostases: the supposed mark of Arians.

a Father truly existing, etc.: cf. Antioch 2 (6 above).

as the Fathers said: in the Creed of Nicaea (NER, pp. 345–6).

6. *it is the same thing*: as in the anathemas appended to the Creed of Nicaea (NER, p. 345), and in the thoughts of Athanasius himself, cf. his *Ep. ad Afros*, 4 (c. 369): '*Hypostasis is essence (οὐσία) and means nothing else than very being (αὐτὸ τὸ ὄν).*'

than such phrases: i.e. from the Sardican document or from other creeds concocted after Nicaea.

7. *The Economy of the Saviour in the flesh*: the problem raised by the teaching of Apollinarius of Laodicea in Syria, on which see 70, 71, 93 below.

66 Basil of Caesarea on the Holy Spirit

Basil, *Ep. CLIX*. 2, to Eupaterius and his daughter, c. 373

The question which now crops up, owing to those who are always endeavouring to introduce novelties, was passed over in silence by earlier generations, because the teaching had never been controverted, and thus it had been left without authoritative explanation: I refer to the doctrine of the Holy Spirit. I will therefore add a statement on this subject, keeping close to the sense of Scripture. As we are baptized, so we believe: as we believe, so also we give praise. Baptism has been given to us by the Saviour, '*into the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Spirit*'.¹ Therefore we present our confession of faith in accordance with our baptism, and our offering of praise in accordance with our faith. We glorify the Holy Spirit together with the Father and the Son, in the conviction that the Spirit is not alien to the divine nature: for that which is alien by nature does not share in the same honours. We pity those who speak of the Holy Spirit as a creature, because by such a statement they fall into the unpardonable calamity of blasphemy against the Spirit.² For those who are even slightly instructed in the Scripture, it needs no argument that the creation is distinct from the godhead. Creation is a slave; the Spirit sets free.

¹ Matt. 28.19

² Cf. Matt. 12.31

Creation stands in need of life; the Spirit is the life-giver. Creation needs instruction; the Spirit is the teacher. Creation is sanctified; the Spirit is the sanctifier.¹ If you speak of angels, or archangels, or all the supernal powers, they receive their sanctification through the Spirit; but the Spirit himself has his holiness by nature, not receiving it by favour, but having it as something inherent in his being. Hence he has been given the distinctive title of 'Holy'. Since then he is by nature holy, as the Father is holy by nature, and so is the Son, we do not allow him to be separated and divided from the divine and blessed Trinity, and we repudiate those who ignorantly count him as part of creation. (Tr. Bettenson, *LCF*, pp. 73-4.)

67 The Deity of the Holy Spirit

Gregory of Nazianzus, *Orat. XXXI (Theological Oration V)*. 9-11

- 9 What then, says my opponent, is there lacking to the Spirit which prevents his being a Son, for if there were not something lacking he would be a Son? We assert that there is nothing lacking — for God has no deficiency. But the difference of method of issuing (from the Father), if I may so express myself, or rather of their mutual relations one to another, has caused the difference of their Names. For indeed it is not some deficiency in the Son which prevents his being Father (for Sonship is not a deficiency), and yet he is not Father. According to this line of argument there must be some deficiency in the Father, in respect of his not being Son. For the Father is not Son, and yet this is not due to either deficiency or inferiority of essence; but the very fact of being unbegotten or begotten, or proceeding, has given the name of Father to the first, of the Son to the second, and of the third, him of whom we are speaking, of the Holy Ghost that the distinction of the Three Persons (ὑποστάσεις) may be preserved in the one nature and dignity of the Godhead. For neither is the Son Father, for the Father is One, but he is what the Father is; nor is the Spirit Son because he is of God, for the Only-begotten is One, but he is what the Son is. The three are One in Godhead, and the One Three in properties (ιδιότητες); so that neither is the unity a Sabellian one, nor do the Three countenance the present evil division.
- 10 What then? Is the Spirit of God? Most certainly. Well then, is he Consubstantial? Yes, if he is God . . .
- 11 What was Adam? A creature of God. What then was Eve? A fragment of the creature. And what was Seth? The offspring of both. Does it then seem to you that creature and fragment and begotten are the same thing? Of course it does not. But were not these persons

¹ Cf. Rom. 8.2; John 6.63; cf. John 14.26; cf. Rom. 15.16

consubstantial? Of course they were. Well then, here it is an acknowledged fact that different persons (τὰ διαφόρως ὑποστάντα) may have the same substance. I say this, not that I would attribute creation or scission or any property of body to the Godhead (let none of your contenders for a word be down upon me again), but that I may contemplate in these, as on a stage, things which are objects of thought alone. For it is not possible to trace out any image exactly to the whole extent of the truth. But, they say, what is the meaning of all this? For is not the one offspring, and the other a something else of the One? Did not both Eve and Seth come from the one Adam? From whom else? And were they both begotten by him? No; but the one was a fragment of him, and the other was begotten by him. And yet the two were one and the same thing; both were human beings; no one will deny that. Will you then give up your contention against the Spirit, that he must be either altogether begotten, or else cannot be consubstantial, or be God, and admit from human examples the possibility of our position? I think it will be well for you (to stop arguing), unless you are determined to be very quarrelsome and to fight against what is proved by demonstration. (NPNF, altered.)

11. *that I may contemplate*: 'These earthly illustrations form a kind of stage, upon which the higher things are represented for our study' (A. J. Mason, ad loc. (Cambridge Patristic Texts, p. 158)).

68 The Divinity of the Holy Spirit: a case of Development in Doctrine

Gregory of Nazianzus, *Orat.* XXXI 27

You see lights breaking upon us gradually, and an order of Theology, which it is better for us to keep, neither proclaiming things too suddenly, nor yet keeping them hidden to the end. For the former course would be unworkmanlike, the latter atheistical; and the former would be calculated to startle outsiders, the latter to alienate our own people. I will add another point to what I have said; one which may readily have come into the mind of some others, but which I think a fruit of my own thought. Our Saviour had some things which, he said could not be borne at that time by his disciples¹ (though perhaps they were filled with many teachings), perhaps for the reasons I have mentioned; and therefore they were hidden. And again he said that all things should be taught to us by the Spirit² when he should come to dwell amongst us. Of these things one, I take it, was the Deity of the Spirit himself, being made clear later on when such knowledge should

¹ John 16.12

² John 14.26

be seasonable and capable of being received after our Saviour's restoration, when it would no longer be received with incredulity because of its marvellous character. For what greater thing than this did either he promise, or the Spirit teach? If indeed anything is to be considered great and worthy of the Majesty of God, which is promised or taught. (NPNF.)

B THE PERSON OF CHRIST

69 Athanasius: The Two Natures of Christ

Athanasius, *Against the Arians*, III 29–34, c. 357–8 (W. Bright, ed., (Oxford 1873), pp. 184–9).

- 29 It is, as we have frequently said, the characteristic aim of holy Scripture to present the Saviour in a two-fold manner. First, in that he is Word, effulgence and wisdom of the Father, he always was and is God and Son. Subsequently, by taking flesh for our sake from a virgin, the God-bearing Mary, he became man. Now one can find this indicated throughout inspired Scripture — as the Lord himself said: '*Search the scriptures, for it is they that bear witness to me*'.¹ But in order not to waste too much space by collecting all the relevant sayings, let us be content to be reminded of them all by the words of John, '*In the beginning was the Word, and the Word was with God, and the Word was God; he was in the beginning with God; all things came into being through him, and without him nothing came into being*'², and then, '*And the Word became flesh, and dwelt among us, and we have seen his glory, glory as of the only-begotten from the Father*'³. Paul too writes: '*Who, being in the form of God, did not count equality with God a thing to be grasped, but emptied himself, taking the form of a slave, coming to be in the likeness of men; and being found in human form, he humbled himself, becoming obedient to the point of death — the death on the cross*'⁴. Starting from these texts and going through the whole of Scripture from the same standpoint, one will discover both how in the beginning the Father said to him, '*Let there be light*' and '*Let there be a firmament*' and '*Let us make man*'⁵, and how at the end of the ages he sent him into the world '*not to condemn the world, but that the world might be saved through him*'⁶. It is also written, '*Behold the virgin will conceive and bear a Son, and his name will be called Emmanuel, which means, God with us*'⁷.

- 30 The reader of holy Scripture will find these things stated in the Old Testament, whilst in the gospels he can see the Lord become man. For '*the Word became flesh*', it says, '*and dwelt among us*'⁸. He became man, he did not come into a man. It is essential to grasp this point, in case

¹ John 5.39

² John 1.1–3

³ John 1.14

⁴ Phil. 2.6–8

⁵ Gen. 1.1, 3, 6, 26

⁶ John 3.17

⁷ Matt. 1–23

⁸ John 1.14

the impious should fall into thinking, and deceive others into thinking, that it was just like the former occasions on which the Word 'came' into the various saints, and that now too he had come to reside in a man in the same way, sanctifying him and manifesting himself in him just as he had in the others. If this had been the case — if he had just appeared in a man — there would have been nothing extraordinary about him at all. No one would have been startled into saying, '*What sort of man is this?*'¹ Or '*Why do you, being a man, make yourself God?*'² For they were accustomed to hearing the words, 'And the Word of the Lord came to' the individual prophets. But in this case the Word of God, through whom all things came into being, dared to become son of man as well, and '*humbled himself, taking the form of a slave*'³. That is the reason why the cross of Christ is '*a scandal to the Jews*' whereas '*to us Christ is the power of God and wisdom of God*'⁴. (Tr. M. Wiles and M. Santer, eds, *Documents in Early Christian Thought*, pp. 52–3.)

70 The Teaching of Apollinarius, Bishop of Laodicea in Syria

Texts in H. Lietzmann, *Apollinarius von Laodicea und seine Schule*

It is difficult to illustrate adequately the concept of Apollinarius concerning the person of Christ, in view of the number of passages involved. For a complete picture, see Kelly, *Doctrines*, pp. 288–95, Bethune-Baker, *Introduction*, Ch. XIV.

Fr. 81 (Lietzmann, p. 224)

If God had been conjoined with man, i.e. perfect God with perfect man, there would be two, one Son of God by nature, the other by adoption.

ἡ κατὰ μέρος πίστις, 11 (Lietzmann, pp. 170–1)

The supreme point in our salvation is the incarnation (σάρκωσις) of the Word. We believe therefore that with no change in his Godhead, the incarnation of the Word took place for the renewal of man. For neither change nor shifting nor circumscription took place in spirit with respect to the power of God, but the power remained the same and accomplished the work of incarnation for the salvation of the world, and the Word of God having had his citizenship on earth in the human sphere maintained likewise his divine presence over all things, having filled all things and commingled with the flesh in a way peculiar to himself, and in the occurrence of the sufferings of the flesh, the (divine) power preserved its own impassibility.

¹ Matt. 8.27

² John 10.33

³ Phil. 2.7–8

⁴ 1 Cor. 1.23–4

Ibid. 30–1 (Lietzmann, p. 178)

- 30 And since certain have troubled us, seeking to upset our faith toward our Lord Jesus the Christ, not confessing him God incarnate, but a man conjoined with God, we therefore make confession about the aforesaid faith and drive away their faithless disputation. For God incarnate in human flesh preserves his own activity unimpaired, being Mind that cannot be overcome by passions of the soul and of the flesh, but maintaining the flesh and the affection of the flesh in a Godlike way and without sin, not only being unconquerable by death, but
- 31 abolishing death. And he is true God, that is without flesh, revealed in flesh, perfect in his true and divine perfection, not two persons (πρόσωπα) or two natures (φύσεις).

Letter to the Bishops at Diocaesarea, 2 (Lietzmann, p. 256)

We confess that the Word of God has not descended upon a holy man, a thing which happened in the case of the prophets, but that the Word himself has become flesh without having assumed a human mind, i.e. a mind changeable and enslaved to filthy thoughts, but existing as a divine mind immutable and heavenly.

Ad Iovianum, 1 (Leitzmann, p. 250)

This Apollinarian Epistle was attributed to Athanasius, and may have been so regarded by Cyril of Alexandria, cf. for example, Kelly, *Doctrines*, pp. 293, 319.

We confess . . . that he is the same Son of God, and God according to Spirit (κατὰ πνεῦμα), but son of man according to flesh, that the one Son is not two natures (persons), one to be worshipped and one without worship, but one incarnate nature (person) of God the Word, to be worshipped with his flesh in one worship.

The word 'person' has been retained above as an alternative translation of φύσεις, but cf. Kelly, *op. cit.*, pp. 293–4.

On Apollinarius see also 71, 74, 93 below.

71 Gregory of Nazianzus: Criticism of Apollinarianism

Gregory, *Ep.* CI 177B–189B (The references are to Migne, *PG*, XXXVII)

- 177B Do not let the men deceive themselves and others with the assertion that the 'Man of the Lord', as they call him, who is rather our Lord and God, is without human mind. For we do not sever the Man from the Godhead, but we lay down as a dogma the unity and identity of Person, who of old was not man but God, and the only Son before all ages,

unmingled with body or anything corporeal; but who, in these days, has assumed manhood also for our salvation; passible in his flesh, impassible in his Godhead; circumscribed in the body, uncircumscribed in the Spirit; at once earthly and heavenly, tangible and intangible, comprehensible and incomprehensible; that by one and the same Person, complete man and also God, the complete man, fallen through sin, might be created anew.

If anyone does not believe that holy Mary is *Theotokos*, he is severed from the Godhead. If any one should assert that he passed through the Virgin as through a channel, and was not at once divinely and humanly formed in her (divinely, because without the intervention of a man; humanly, because in accordance with the laws of gestation), he is in like manner godless. If any assert that the manhood was formed, and that afterwards God insinuated himself into the manhood, he is to be condemned. For this is not a generation of God, but a shirking of generation. If any introduce the notion of two sons, one of God the Father, the other of the mother, and discredits the unity and identity, may he lose his part in the adoption promised to those who believe aright. For God and man are two natures, as also soul and body are; but there are not two Sons or two Gods. For neither in this life are there two manhoods; though Paul speaks in some such language of the inner and the outer man.¹ And (if I am to speak concisely) the Saviour is made of elements which are distinct from one another (for the invisible is not the same as the visible, nor the timeless as that which is subject to time), yet he is not two. God forbid! For both are one by the combination, the Deity being made man and the manhood deified, or however one should express it. And I say different elements, because it is the reverse of what is the case in the Trinity; for there we acknowledge different Persons so as not to confound the *Hypostases*; but not different elements, for the Three are one and the same in Godhead.

If any should say that (i.e. the Godhead) wrought in him by grace as in a prophet, but was not and is not united with him in essence, let him be empty of the higher energy, or rather full of the opposite. If any does not worship the Crucified, let him be anathema and be numbered among the deicides. If any assert that he was made perfect by works, or that, after his baptism, or after his resurrection from the dead, he was counted worthy of an adoptive Sonship, like those gods whom the Greeks call 'the interpolated', as added to the ranks of the gods, let him be anathema.

[Gregory goes on to emphasize the abiding unity of Christ's flesh with divinity. Christ and his flesh are inseparable, and he will come in the flesh at his second coming.]

¹ 2 Cor. 4.16; Eph. 3.17

- 181 B If anyone assert that his flesh came down from heaven, and is not from hence, nor of us though above us, let him be anathema. For the words *The second man is from heaven*¹ and *As is the heavenly, such are they that are heavenly*,² and *No man has ascended up into heaven, save he who came down from heaven, even the Son of man*,³ and the like, are to be
- C understood as said on account of the union with the heavenly; just as that *all things were made by Christ*,⁴ and that *Christ dwells in your hearts*⁵ is said not of the visible nature which belongs to God, but of what is perceived by the mind, the names being mingled like the natures, and flowing into one another according to the law of their intimate union.

- If anyone has put his trust in him as a man without a human mind, he is really bereft of mind and quite unworthy of salvation. For that which he has not assumed, he has not healed; but that which is united
- 184 to his Godhead, is also saved. If only half Adam fell, then that which
- A Christ assumes and saves may be half also; but if the whole of Adam fell, he must be united to the whole nature of him that was begotten, and so be saved as a whole. Let them not then begrudge us our complete salvation, or clothe the Saviour only with bones and nerves and the portraiture of man. For if his manhood is without soul, even the Arians admit this, that they may attribute his passion to the Godhead, as that which gives motion to the body is also that which suffers. But if he has a soul, and yet is without a mind, how is he man? For man is not a mindless animal. And this would necessarily involve that while his form and tabernacle was human, his soul should be that of a horse or an ox, or some other of the brute creation. This, then, would also be what is saved; and I have been deceived by the Truth, and led to boast of an honour which had been bestowed upon another.
- B But if his manhood is intellectual, and not without mind, let them cease to be thus really mindless.

But, says such an one, the Godhead took the place of the human intellect. How does this touch me? For Godhead joined to flesh alone is not man, nor to soul alone, nor to both apart from intellect, which is the most essential part of man. Keep then the whole man, and mingle Godhead therewith, that you may benefit me in my completeness.

- But he asserts, he could not contain two complete natures. Not if you only look at him in bodily fashion. For a bushel measure will not hold two bushels, nor will the space of one body hold two or more
- C bodies. But if you will look at what is mental and incorporeal, remember that I in my one personality can contain soul and reason and mind and the Holy Spirit; and, before me, this world, by which I mean the system of things visible and invisible, contained Father, Son, and Holy Ghost. For such is the nature of intellectual existences that they can mingle with one another and with bodies, incorporeally and

¹ 1 Cor. 15.47² 1 Cor. 15.48³ John 3.13⁴ John 1.3⁵ Eph. 3.17

invisibly. For many sounds are comprehended by one ear; and the eyes of many are occupied by the same visible objects, and the smell by odours; nor are the senses narrowed by each other, or crowded out, nor the objects of sense diminished by the multitude of the perceptions.

185 A But where is there mind of man or angel so perfect in comparison of the Godhead that the presence of the greater must crowd out the others? . . .

B . . . But, he says, our mind is subject to condemnation. What then of
C our flesh? Is not that subject to condemnation? You must therefore either set aside the latter on account of sin, or admit the former on account of salvation. If he assumed the worst that he might sanctify it by his incarnation, may he not assume the better that it may be sanctified by his becoming Man? If the clay was leavened and has become a new lump, O ye wise men, shall not the Image be leavened and mingled with God, being deified by his Godhead? And I will add this also: If the mind was utterly rejected, as prone to sin and subject to damnation, and for this reason he assumed a body but left out the mind, then there is an excuse for them who sin with the mind; for the witness of God — according to you — has shown the impossibility of healing it.

188 A . . . Further, let us see what is their account of the assumption of manhood, or the assumption of flesh, as they call it. If it was in order that God, otherwise containable, might be contained, and might *converse with men*¹ through his flesh, as through a veil, their mask and the drama which they represent is a pretty one, not to say that it was open to him to converse with us in other ways, as of old, in the burning
B bush,² and in the appearance of a man.³ But if it was that he might destroy the condemnation of sin by sanctifying like by like, then, as he needed flesh for the sake of the flesh which had incurred condemnation, and soul for the sake of our soul, so too he needed mind for the sake of mind, which not only fell in Adam, but was the first to be affected, as the doctors say of illnesses.

For that which received the command was that which failed to keep the command, and that which failed to keep it was that also which dared to transgress; and that which transgressed was that which stood most in need of salvation; and that which needed salvation was that which also he took upon him. Therefore mind was taken upon him . . . But if they, overwhelmed by these arguments, take refuge in the proposition that it is possible for God to save man even apart from mind, why, I suppose that it would be possible for him to do so also apart from flesh by a mere act of will . . .

189 A They run to the flesh, because they do not know the custom of

¹ Baruch 3.37

² Exod. 3.2

³ Gen. 18.5

Scripture. We will teach them this also. For what need is there even to mention to those who know it, the fact that everywhere in Scripture he is called man and the Son of Man?

If, however, they rely on the passage, *The Word was made flesh and dwelt among us*,¹ and because of this erase the noblest part of man (as cobblers do the thicker part of skins) that they may join together God and flesh, it is time for them to say that God is God only of flesh, and not of souls, because it is written, *As thou hast given him power over all flesh*,² and *Unto thee shall all flesh come*,³ and *Let all flesh bless his holy Name*,⁴ meaning 'every man'.

... They who argue thus do not know that such expressions are used by Synecdoche, declaring the whole by the part. (NPNF, altered.)

177B. 'Man of the Lord', ὁ κυριακός.

C. *Theotokos*: cf. 216 below.

insinuated himself: quasi iam exsistenti homini deitas accesserit (Migne, PG. XXXVII 178).

180A. *two natures*, φύσεις δύο.

B. *different Persons*, ἄλλος καὶ ἄλλος.

not to confound the Hypostases: i.e. recognizing the peculiar characteristics of each divine Person.

different elements, ἄλλο καὶ ἄλλο.

'*the interpolated*', παρέγγραπτοι, used of men, like Heracles, who became gods.

181B. *that his flesh came down from heaven*: this accusation is made by Gregory of Nyssa also, *Antirrheticus*, 13, 15, 25; but while this idea might be deduced from Apollinarius, there is considerable doubt as to whether he really taught thus, cf. C. E. Raven, *Apollinarianism*, pp. 211ff, and for example, Apollinarius himself, Fr. 164 (quoted by Kelly, *Doctrines*, p. 294), 'It is plain from all we have written that we do not say that the Saviour's flesh has come down from heaven, nor that his flesh was consubstantial with God, inasmuch as it is flesh and not God; but it is God in so far as it is united with the Godhead so as to form one Person.'

C. *without a human mind*, ἄνους.

184B. *flesh . . . soul . . . intellect*: σὰρξ . . . ψυχή . . . νοῦς.

two complete natures, δύο τέλεια.

72 Gregory of Nyssa on the 'Self-emptying' of the Godhead

Gregory, *Against Eunomius*, v. 5

The godhead 'empties itself'⁵ in order that it may come within the capacity of the human nature; the humanity is renewed by becoming divine through commixture with the divine . . . As fire that often lies

¹ John 1.14

² John 17.2

³ Ps. 65.2

⁴ Ps. 145.21

⁵ Phil. 2.7

hidden below the surface of wood is not observed by the senses of those who see or even touch the wood, but is manifest when it is kindled into flame; so . . . he who, because he is '*the Lord of Glory*',¹ thought nothing of that which men think shame, and concealed, as it were, the embers of his life beneath his bodily nature in fulfilling the divine plan by means of his death, kindled it to flame again by the power of his own Godhead, warming into life that which had been brought to death, pouring that limited first-fruit of our nature into the infinity of his divine power. Thus he made it to be what he himself was, making the form of the servant to be Lord, the human son of Mary to be Christ, him who was crucified through weakness to be life and power, and making all that is reverently conceived as belonging to God the Word to be also in that which the Word assumed; so that those properties no longer seem to be in either nature by way of distinction and division. Rather it seems that the perishable nature is re-created by commixture into the divine, since the divine prevails over it; and thus it partakes of the power of the Godhead; as if one should say that a drop of vinegar mixed in the ocean is turned into sea by that mixture, since the natural qualities of the liquid do not remain in the infinity of the prevailing element . . . That which was crucified because of weakness has itself become, through the prevailing power of him who dwelt within it, what the indweller is in fact and title, namely, Christ and Lord. (Tr. Bettenson, *LCF*, pp. 138–9.)

a drop of vinegar . . . This celebrated simile is also used by Gregory in *Antirrheticus contra Apollinarem*, 42, where 2 Cor. 5 is quoted as 'what is immortal has been swallowed up by life'.

73 Western Views: Hilary of Poitiers on the Two Natures of Christ, c. 365

Hilary, *De Trinitate*, 9.14

- 9.14 I had briefly to establish these points so that we should remember that in the Lord Jesus Christ a person of both natures is encountered; for he who remained '*in the form of God took the form of a servant*,' through which he was '*obedient even to death*'.² For the obedience of death is not in the form of God, just as the form of God is not in the form of a servant. But through the mystery [*sacramentum*] of the gospel dispensation, he who is in the form of a servant is the same as he who is in the form of God. To take the form of a servant and to remain in the form of God are not the same thing: and he who remained in the form of God could not have taken the form of a servant except by his

¹ Cor. 2.8

² Phil. 2.8

self-emptying [*evacuatio*], since the combination of both forms is inconsistent. But he who emptied himself is the same as he who took the form of a servant. If he ceased to exist he could not have 'taken': to take entails the existence of the taker. Thus the self-emptying of the form is not the abolition of the nature; since he who emptied himself did not cease to exist, and he who took continued to be. The identity of 'emptier' and 'taker' involves a mystery [*sacramentum*], but not a ceasing to be [*interitus*] . . . Christ was one and the same, when he changed his outward fashion [*habitus*], and when he reassumed it . . .

10.19 Jesus Christ is both Son of God and Son of Man . . . The Son of Man is the same person as the Son of God; he who is in the form of God is the same as he who was born as complete man in the form of a servant. Just as, by the nature determined for us by God when man was first created, man is born as a creature of body and soul, so Jesus Christ through his own divine power was man and God, compounded of body and soul. He had in himself the whole reality of manhood, and the whole reality of godhead. (Tr. H. Bettenson, *LCF*, pp. 50–51.)

It will be noted that the Western view of the Two Natures of Christ had been expressed without ambiguity a decade before Apollinarius was arousing controversy.

74 Decisions of a Roman Council under Damasus, 377

Damasus, *Ep. ii, Frag. ii*; text in *PL*, XIII.352–3

I Condemnation of Apollinarianism

This we are certainly surprised to find, that there are said to be some among our own people who, in spite of their having a pious understanding of the Trinity, nevertheless, in respect of the mystery of our salvation, know neither the power [of God] nor the Scriptures, and so fail to be of a right mind. They venture to say that our God and Saviour Jesus Christ, took from the Virgin Mary human nature incomplete, i.e. without mind. Alas, how nearly they approach the Arians with a mind like that! The latter speak of an incomplete divinity in the Son of God; the former falsely affirm an incomplete humanity in the Son of Man. Now if human nature were taken incomplete, then the gift of God is incomplete, and our salvation is incomplete, because human nature has not been saved in its entirety. And what then will become of that saying of the Lord, *The Son of Man came to save that which had been lost in its entirety*,¹ i.e. in soul and in body, in mind and

¹ Matt. 18.11

in the whole substance of its nature? If, therefore, human nature had been lost in its entirety, it was necessary that that which had been lost should be saved. But if it was saved without mind, then the fact that that which had been lost was not saved in its entirety will be found contrary to the faith of the Gospel; since, in another place, the Saviour himself says: *Are you angry at me because I have made a man's body whole, in its entirety.*¹ Further, the essence of the first sin itself and of the entire perdition (of man) lies in man's mind; for if, at the first, man's mind to choose good and evil had not perished, he would not have died. How then are we to suppose that, at the last, that needed no salvation which is acknowledged to have been chief in sinning? We, who know that we have been saved whole and entire according to the profession of the Catholic Church, profess that complete God took complete man. Wherefore take heed that, by their understanding of sound doctrine, the very minds of those be saved who as yet do not believe that the mind has been saved. (Kidd. *Documents II*, pp. 84-5, slightly altered.)

No names are mentioned, and the council apprehends that those whom it is criticizing come *from among our own people* and that they have *a pious understanding of the Trinity*. On Apollinarianism see 70, 71, 93.

2 Affirmation of the Deity of the Holy Spirit

As men who hold fast through everything to the inviolable faith of the council of Nicaea, we do not separate the Holy Spirit, but together with the Father and the Son we offer him a joint worship as complete in everything, in power, honour, majesty and Godhead; and, moreover, we believe that God the Word in his fullness, not put forth but born, and not immanent in the Father so as to have no real existence, but subsisting from eternity to eternity, took and saved human nature complete, i.e. entire. (Kidd. loc. cit.)

the council of Nicaea: made no definition of the Spirit's Godhead such as is given here.

¹ John 7.23

9 *The Cappadocian Fathers: Theology and Asceticism*

A BASIL OF CAESAREA: LIFE AND THEOLOGY

75 Macrina Converts Basil to the Ascetic Life

Gregory of Nyssa, *Vita S. Macrinae*, (Migne, PG, XLVI) 966 B–C

When the mother had arranged excellent marriages for the other sisters, such as was best in each case, Macrina's brother, the great Basil, returned after his long period of education, already a practised rhetorician. He was puffed up beyond measure with the pride of oratory and looked down on the local dignitaries, excelling in his own estimation all the men of leading and position. Nevertheless Macrina took him in hand, and with such speed did she draw him also toward the mark of philosophy that he forsook the glories of this world and despised fame gained by speaking, and deserted it for this busy life where one toils with one's hands. His renunciation of property was complete, lest anything should impede the life of virtue. (W. K. Lowther Clark, *St Gregory of Nyssa's Life of St Macrina*, pp. 27f.)

Macrina was Basil's eldest sister. On the death of her *fiancé*, she renounced any further idea of marriage and undertook a life of asceticism. The story of Macrina's part in the life of the family is told by her brother, Gregory of Nyssa, in his *Vita S. Macrinae* from which the above extract is taken.

76 Basil's Buildings at Caesarea

Basil, *EP. XCIV*

I wish, however, that those who keep annoying your honest ears be asked what harm the State receives at our hands; or what, either small or great, of the public interests has suffered injury through our government of the Churches; unless, indeed, someone may say that it inflicts injury upon the State to raise in honour of our God a house of prayer built in magnificent fashion, and, grouped about it, a residence, one portion being a generous home reserved for the bishop, and the rest subordinate quarters for the servants of God's worship arranged in order — access to all of which is alike free to you magistrates yourselves and to your retinue. And whom do we wrong when we build hospices for strangers, for those who visit us while on a journey, for

those who require some care because of sickness, and when we extend to the latter the necessary comforts, such as nurses, physicians, beasts for travelling, and attendants? There must also be occupations to go with these men, both those that are necessary for gaining a livelihood, and also such as have been discovered for a civilized mode of life. And, again, they need still other buildings equipped for their pursuits, all of which are an ornament to the locality, and a source of pride to our governor, since their fame rebounds to your credit. Nor was it, indeed, on this account that you have been forced to give attention to our affairs — that, namely, you, by reason of the magnitude of your wisdom, are competent single-handed to restore the works which have fallen into ruin, to people the uninhabited areas, and in general to transform the solitudes into cities! Was it, therefore, the more consistent course to harass and insult the man who co-operates with you in these works, or rather to honour him and show him every consideration? And do not think, most excellent Sir, that our protest consists of words alone; for we are already in action, being engaged meanwhile in getting our materials together. (R. J. Deferrari, *St Basil, The Letters* (Loeb), II, pp. 151–2, slightly altered.)

The election of Basil as bishop at Caesarea had met with a good deal of criticism. He was opposed by many with Arianizing sympathies, who hoped to encourage the Emperor Valens against him. This letter is addressed to Elias, governor of Cappadocia.

Basil's complex of buildings at Caesarea was called after him *Basileias*, cf. Sozomen, *HE*, VI.34: '*Basileias*, the most celebrated hospice for the poor. It was established by Basil, bishop of Caesarea, from whom it received its name in the beginning, and retains it until to-day.' (NPNF).

For hospices and hospitals cf. 77 and 156 below; also for the hospital at Alexandria with men and women's wards, Palladius, *Lausiac History*, VI 8.

77 Basil's Hospital at Caesarea

Gregory of Nazianzus, *Orat.* XLIII 63

What more? A noble thing is philanthropy, and the support of the poor, and the assistance of human weakness. Go forth a little way from the city, and behold the new city, the storehouse of piety, the common treasury of the wealthy, in which the superfluities of their wealth, aye, and even their necessities, are stored, in consequence of his exhortations, freed from the power of the moth,¹ no longer gladdening the eyes of the thief, and escaping both the emulation of envy, and the corruption of time: where disease is regarded in a religious light, and disaster is thought a blessing and sympathy is put to the test . . .

¹ Matt. 6.19

My subject is the most wonderful of all, the short road to salvation, the easiest ascent to heaven. There is no longer before our eyes that terrible and piteous spectacle of men who are living corpses, the greater part of whose limbs have mortified, driven away from their cities and homes and public places and fountains, aye, and from their own dearest ones, recognizable by their names rather than by their features: they are no longer brought before us at our gatherings and meetings, in our common intercourse and union, no longer the objects of hatred, instead of pity on account of their disease; composers of piteous songs, if any of them have their voice still left to them. Why should I try to express in tragic style all our experiences, when no language can be adequate to their hard lot? He however it was, who took the lead in pressing upon those who were men, that they ought not to despise their fellow-men, nor to dishonour Christ, the one Head of all, by their inhuman treatment of them; but to use the misfortunes of others as an opportunity of firmly establishing their own lot, and to lend to God that mercy of which they stand in need at his hands. He did not therefore disdain to honour with his lips this disease, noble and of noble ancestry and brilliant reputation though he was, but saluted them as brethren, not, as some might suppose from vainglory (for who was so far removed from this feeling?), but taking the lead in approaching to tend them, as a consequence of his philosophy, and so giving not only a speaking, but also a silent, instruction. The effect produced is to be seen not only in the city, but in the country and beyond, and even the leaders of society have vied with one another in their philanthropy and magnanimity towards them. Others have had their cooks, and splendid tables, and the devices and dainties of confectioners, and exquisite carriages, and soft, flowing robes; Basil's care was for the sick, and the relief of their wounds, and the imitation of Christ, by cleansing leprosy, not by a word, but in deed. (NPNF.)

Gregory is defending Basil against charges of arrogance; for his arrogant spirit in youth, cf. 75 above.

78 The Superiority of Conventual Life over the Solitary Life

345B Basil, *Regulae Fusius Tractatae*, i.e. *The Longer Rules*, VII 345C–348A

In op. cit. VI, Basil had urged the necessity of retirement from the world. Ch. VII is 'Basil's clearest exposition of the advantages of Community life' (W. K. Lowther Clarke, *The Ascetic Works of St Basil*, p. 163, n.1).

Since your words have convinced us that a life lived with those who are contemptuous of the commandments of God is fraught with danger, we want to learn in due course, whether the man who has retired from

such should live privately by himself, or join with like-minded brethren who have chosen the object of religion.

I recognize that the life of a number lived in common is more useful in many ways. To begin with, none of us is self-sufficient even as regards bodily needs, but we need one another's help in getting
D necessities. For just as the foot has certain powers but lacks others, and without the help of the other limbs neither finds its own strength adequate or self-sufficient for endurance nor has it the support of what is lacking, so in the solitary life both what we have becomes useless and what we lack becomes unprocurable, since God the Creator ordained that we need one another, as it is written,¹ in order that we may be linked with one another. But apart from this the fashion of the love of Christ does not allow us to look each at his own good. For *love* we read
E *seeketh not its own.*² Now the solitary life has one aim, the service of the needs of the individual. But this is plainly in conflict with the law of love, which the apostle fulfilled when he sought not his own advantage but that of the many, that they might be saved.

Secondly, in such separation the man will not even recognize his defects readily, not having anyone to reprove him and to set him right
346 with kindness and compassion. For it often happens that reproof even
A from an enemy induces in a good man a desire to be cured; but a skilful cure of sin is carried out by a man who has loved sincerely. *For he that loveth chasteneth diligently.*³ Such a guide it is difficult to find in solitude, unless one has already formed a link with him in community life. There happens to him in consequence what has been said: *Woe to the solitary man, since if he fall there is none to raise him up.*⁴ And many commandments are easily performed by a number living together, but by a solitary man no longer; for by doing one commandment another is
B hindered. For example, when we visit a sick man we cannot receive a stranger; when we bestow and distribute the necessities of life — especially when these ministrations have to be performed at a distance — we neglect work; so that the greatest commandment of all and that which conduces to salvation is neglected, and neither is the hungry fed nor the naked clothed. Who then would choose the idle and fruitless life in preference to the fruitful life which is lived in accordance with the commandment of the Lord?

C-D [Christ is the head, we are the members, joined harmoniously in one body in the Holy Spirit. This mutual relationship cannot be preserved in the solitary life. Similarly, all spiritual gifts are not received by all and] in the common life the individual gift of each becomes the
E common property of his fellows. [Basil abridges 1 Cor. 12.8–10.] . . . Each of which gifts the recipient has as much for others' sake as for his own. So that of necessity in the community life the working of the Holy

¹ 1 Cor. 12.12–26

² 1 Cor. 13.5

³ Prov. 13.24

⁴ Eccl. 4.10

Spirit in one man passes over to all the rest at once. Now all you who have read the Gospels know the great danger incurred by the man living alone, who has one gift perhaps, and makes it useless by idleness, digging a hole for it in himself. Whereas when a number live together a man enjoys his own gift, multiplying it by imparting it to others, and reaps the fruits of other men's gifts as if they were his own. [Other advantages of life in common are 'for keeping the good things given us by God,' for assistance in repelling the attacks of the devil, for disapproval of sin by the presence of others, and approval and confirmation of virtue.]

347A-C

For wherewith shall a man show humility, if he has no one in comparison with whom to show himself humble? Wherewith shall he show compassion, when he is cut off from the communion of the many? How can he practise himself in long-suffering, when there is none to withstand his wishes? If a man says he finds the teaching of the divine Scriptures sufficient to correct his character, he makes himself like a man who learns the theory of building but never practises the art, or who is taught the theory of working in metals but prefers not to put his teaching into practice. To whom the apostle says: '*Not the hearers of the law are just with God, but the doers of the laws shall be justified.*'¹

D

For, behold, the Lord for the greatness of his love of men was not content with teaching the word only, but that accurately and clearly he might give us a pattern of humility in the perfection of love he girded himself and washed the feet of the disciples in person. Whose feet then wilt thou wash? Whom wilt thou care for? In comparison with whom wilt thou be last if thou livest by thyself? How will that good and pleasant thing, the dwelling of brethren together, which the Holy Spirit likens to unguent flowing down from the High Priest's head, be accomplished by dwelling solitary? So it is an arena for athletics, a method of travelling forward, a continual exercise and practising in the Lord's commandments, when the brethren dwell together. (W. K. Lowther Clarke, *The Ascetic Works of St Basil*, pp. 163-6, slightly altered.)

E

346A. *unless one has already formed a link . . .*: i.e. has proceeded from the monastery to the hermit's life, but has remained in touch with the monastery.

79 Basil and the Emperor Valens

Theodoret, *HE*, IV.19.(NPNF, 16)1-6

Valens was a Homoean and his policy was adherence to the credal statements of Ariminum and Seleucia (32, 33 above). He endeavoured to eliminate bishops who did not accept these.

¹ Rom. 2.13

- 1 Valens, one might almost say, deprived every church of its shepherd, and set out for Caesarea in Cappadocia, at that time the see of the great Basil, the light of the world. Now he had sent the governor before him with orders either to persuade Basil to embrace the communion of
- 2 Eudoxius, or, in the event of his refusal, expel him. Previously acquainted as he was with the bishop's high reputation, he was at first unwilling to attack him, for he was apprehensive lest the bishop, by boldly meeting and withstanding his assault, should furnish an
- 3 example of bravery to the rest. This artful stratagem was as ineffective as a spider's web. For the stories told of old were quite enough for the rest of the episcopate, and they kept the wall of the faith unmoved like bastions in the circle of its walls.

The governor, however, on his arrival at Caesarea, sent for the great Basil. He treated him with respect, and, addressing him in courteous language, urged him to yield to the exigencies of the time, and not to forsake so many Churches on account of a petty nicety of doctrine. He moreover promised him the friendship of the Emperor, and pointed out that through it he might be the means of conferring great

- 4 advantages upon many. 'This sort of talk', said the divine man, 'is fitted for little boys, for they and their like easily swallow such inducements.
- 5 But they who are nurtured by divine words will not suffer so much as a syllable of the divine creeds to be let go, and for their sake are ready, should need require, to embrace every kind of death. The Emperor's friendship I hold to be of great value if conjoined with true religion; otherwise I call it perdition.'

- 6 Then the governor was angry, and declared that Basil was out of his senses. But the divine man said, 'May this madness I pray be ever mine.' The bishop was then ordered to retire, to deliberate on the course to be pursued, and on the morrow to declare to what conclusion he had come. Intimidation was moreover joined with argument. The reply of the illustrious bishop is related to have been, 'I for my part shall come to you to-morrow the same man that I am to-day; do not
- 7 yourself change, but carry out your threats.' After these discussions the governor met the Emperor and reported the conversation, pointing out the bishop's virtue, and the undaunted manliness of his character. The Emperor said nothing and passed in. (NPNF, altered.)

7-15 [No further action was taken against Basil. The Emperor was first overcome by the misfortunes of his own family, and later when three pens in succession broke as he endeavoured to sign a decree of exile, he tore the paper up.]

1. *Eudoxius*: see 30 above.

80 Basil on the Schism of Antioch, 375

Basil, *Ep.* CCXIV.2

But a further rumour has reached me that you are in Antioch, and are transacting the business in hand with the chief authorities. And, besides this, I have heard that the brethren who are of the party of Paulinus are entering on some discussion with your Excellency on the subject of union with us; and by 'us' I mean those who are supporters of the man of God, Meletius the bishop. I hear, moreover, that the Paulinians are carrying about a letter of the Westerns, assigning to them the episcopate of the Church in Antioch, but speaking misleadingly of Meletius, the admirable bishop of the true Church of God. I am not surprised. They (the Westerns) are totally ignorant of what is going on here; the others, though they might be supposed to know, give an account to them in which party is put before truth; and it is only what one might expect that they should either be ignorant of the truth, or should even endeavour to conceal the reasons which led the blessed Bishop Athanasius to write to Paulinus. But your Excellency has on the spot those who are able to tell you accurately what passed between the bishops in the reign of Jovian and from them I beseech you to get information. I accuse no one; I pray that I may have love to all, and *especially unto them who are of the household of faith*;¹ and therefore I congratulate those who have received the letter from Rome. And, although it is a grand testimony in their favour I only hope it is true and confirmed by facts. But I shall never be able to persuade myself on these grounds to ignore Meletius, or to forget the Church which is under him, or to treat as small, and of little importance to the true religion the questions which originated the division. I shall never consent to give in, merely because somebody is very much elated at receiving a letter from men. Even if it had come down from Heaven itself, but he (the recipient) does not agree with the sound doctrine of the faith, I cannot look upon him as in communion with the saints. (NPNF, altered.)

Basil is writing to Count Terentius, to whom he addressed two other letters.

the party of Paulinus: reconciliation of the parties at Antioch was hindered by the recognition of Paulinus by Rome and by Athanasius, and by the consecration of Paulinus as bishop by Lucifer of Cagliari in 362. Meletius had the support of most of the Antiochene Christians, and had accepted the faith of Nicaea (36 above).

a letter of the Westerns: Basil strove with remarkable care and patience to secure the communion of Rome with Meletius and so end the schism. But he had little success, and eventually (*Ep.* CCXXXIX.2) used the following words of Damasus: 'I am moved to say, as Diomedes did,'²

¹ Gal. 6.10² Homer, *Iliad*, 9. 696–9

Would that you had not asked him, for he's proud.

For, in truth when proud characters are courted, they become haughtier than ever. If the Lord be propitious to us, what other assistance do we need? If the anger of God continues, what help can we have from the supercilious frown of the West? Men who do not know the truth, and do not wish to learn it, but are prejudiced by false suspicions, are doing now what they did in the case of Marcellus, when they quarrelled with those who told them the truth, and themselves strengthened the cause of heresy.' (NPNF, altered.)

which led Athanasius to write to Paulinus: Basil is unwilling to quarrel with anyone over Paulinus. At one time Athanasius looked like being a good intermediary with the West, an area in which he had lived in his first and second exiles. Athanasius visited Antioch in 363, cf. Basil, *Ep.* CCLVIII.3.

to ignore Meletius: Basil knew that nothing except recognition of Meletius could bring peace to Antioch.

From the passage quoted in the notes above:

the case of Marcellus: i.e. of Ancyra, cf. 5–7 above. The East could not understand the West's acceptance of Marcellus, whom the East regarded as Sabellian.

81 The Antiochene Parties in 378

Theodoret, *HE*, V.3.9–16

- 9 At the time of which I am speaking, when Sapor the General had arrived and had exhibited the imperial edict, Paulinus affirmed that he sided with Damasus, and Apollinarius, concealing his unsoundness,
- 10 did the same. The divine Meletius, on the other hand, made no sign, and put up with their dispute. Flavian, of high fame for his wisdom, who was at that time still in the ranks of the presbyterate, at first said to Paulinus in the hearing of the general 'If, my dear friend, you accept communion with Damasus, point out to us clearly how the doctrines agree for he, though he owns one substance of the Trinity, openly
- 11 preaches three essences (ὁποστάσεις). You on the contrary deny the Trinity of essences. Show us then how these doctrines are in harmony, and receive the charge of the Churches, as the edict enjoins.' After so silencing Paulinus by his arguments he turned to Apollinarius and said, 'I am astonished, my friend, to find you waging such violent war against the truth, when all the while you know quite clearly how the admirable Damasus maintains our nature to have been taken in its perfection by God the Word; but you persist in saying the contrary, for
- 12 you deprive our intelligence of its salvation. If these our charges against you be false, deny now the novelty that you have originated; embrace the teaching of Damasus, and receive the charge of the holy shrines.'
- 13 Thus Flavian in his great wisdom stopped their bold speech with his true reasoning.

14 Meletius, who of all men was most gentle, thus kindly and gently addressed Paulinus. 'The Lord of the sheep has put the care of these sheep in my hands: you have received the charge of the rest: our little ones are in communion with one another in the true religion. Therefore, my dear friend, let us join our flocks; let us have done with our dispute about the leading of them, and, feeding the sheep together, let us tend them in common. If the chief seat is the cause of strife, that
15 strife I will endeavour to put away. On the chief seat I will put the Holy Gospel; I make a plea to you that we sit on each side of it; should I be the first to pass away, you, my friend, will hold the leadership of the flock alone. Should this be your lot before it is mine, I in my turn, so far as I am able, will take care of the sheep.' So gently and kindly spoke the divine Meletius, but Paulinus did not consent. The general passed judgement on what had been said and gave the Churches to the great Meletius. Paulinus still continued at the head of the sheep who had originally seceded. (NPNF, altered.)

9. *At the time of which I am speaking*: after the death of Valens in 378, when exiled bishops were restored by Gratian.

10. *Flavian*: the successor of Meletius at Antioch, elected at the council of Constantinople in 381. Socrates, *HE*, V.5.5–7, says that on the occasion to which passage 81 refers, Flavian and five other possible candidates for the bishopric bound themselves 'not to seek the bishopric if one of the bishops should die, but to allow the survivor to occupy the see'. But Flavian accepted the bishopric after the death of Meletius. For the sequel see 204 below.

openly preaches three essences (ὁποστάσεις): but cf. 143 below.

82 Basil on the Doctrine of the Trinity, 375

Basil, *Ep.* CCX.5

It is indispensable to have clear understanding that, as he who fails to confess the community of the essence (οὐσία) falls into polytheism so he who refuses to grant the distinction of the *hypostases* is carried away into Judaism. For we must keep our mind stayed, so to say, on a certain underlying matter, and, by forming a clear impression of its distinguishing properties, so arrive at the end desired. For suppose we do not bethink us of the Fatherhood, nor bear in mind him of whom this distinctive quality is marked off, how can we take in the idea of God the Father? For merely to enumerate the differences of Persons (πρόσωπα) is insufficient; we must confess each Person (πρόσωπον) to have an existence in real *hypostasis*. Now Sabellius did not even deprecate the formation of the persons without *hypostasis*, saying as he did that the same God, being one in matter (τῷ ὑποκειμένῳ) was metamorphosed as the need of the moment required, and spoken of now as Father, now as Son and now as Holy Ghost. The inventors of

this unnamed heresy are renewing the old long-extinguished error; those I mean, who are repudiating the *hypostases*, and denying the name of the Son of God. They must give over uttering iniquity against God, or they will have to wail with them that deny the Christ. (NPNF, altered.)

underlying matter: the word *matter* is used really to express *substance*, and does not imply that God is corporeal.

Basil is writing to the chief men of Neocaesarea in Pontus, where a form of Sabellian heresy had been revived.

83 Basil: The Distinction of Meaning between *Ousia* and *Hypostasis*

Basil, *Ep.* CCXXXVI.6

Basil is writing to Amphilocius, Bishop of Iconium.

The distinction between οὐσία and ὑπόστασις is the same as that between the general and the particular; as, for instance, between the animal and the particular man. Wherefore, in the case of the Godhead, we confess one essence (or substance (οὐσία)) so as not to give a variant definition of existence, but we confess a particular *hypostasis*, in order that our conception of Father, Son and Holy Spirit may be without confusion and clear. If we have no distinct perception of the separate characteristics, namely, fatherhood, sonship, and sanctification, but form our conception of God from the general idea of existence, we cannot possibly give a sound account of our faith. We must, therefore, confess the faith by adding the particular to the common. The Godhead is common; the fatherhood particular. We must therefore combine the two and say, 'I believe in God the Father.' The like course must be pursued in the confession of the Son; we must combine the particular with the common and say, 'I believe in God the Son.' So in the case of the Holy Ghost we must make our utterance conform to the appellation and say, 'I believe also in the divine Holy Spirit.' Hence it results that there is a satisfactory preservation of the unity by the confession of the one Godhead, while in the distinction of the individual properties regarded in each other there is the confession of the peculiar properties of the Persons. On the other hand those who identify essence or substance and *hypostasis* are compelled to confess only three Persons (πρόσωπα), and, in their hesitation to speak of three *hypostases*, are convicted of failure to avoid the error of Sabellius, for even Sabellius himself, who in many places confuses the conception, yet, by asserting that the same *hypostasis* changed its form to meet the needs of the moment, does endeavour to distinguish persons. (NPNF, altered.)

οὐσία, ὑπόστασις: these words were synonyms at Nicaea and really remained synonyms for Athanasius. Afterwards the West preserved this meaning, but the East regarded the Godhead as being *three in hypostasis*, cf. 6, 82 above. The West tended to regard any deviation from *one hypostasis* as Arian, cf. 8 above. But as time went on a *modus vivendi* was found, cf. the views of Athanasius in AD 362 (65 above), and the neo-Nicene theology of the Cappadocians embodied the distinction in meaning set forth by Basil.

the divine Holy Spirit: i.e. τὸ θεῖον. While the reading τὸν θεὸν is also found, it should be noted that Basil was chary of using this term, as is evidenced by his whole treatise, *De Spiritu Sancto*.

84 Basil: Our Knowledge of God Imperfect, but Real, 376

Basil, *Ep.* CCXXXIV

Do you worship what you know, or what you know not? If I answer, I worship what I know, they [i.e. the Anomoeans] immediately reply, What is the essence (οὐσία) of the object of worship? Then, if I confess that I am ignorant of the essence, they turn on me again and say, So you worship you know not what. I answer that the word *to know* has many meanings. We say that we know the greatness of God, his power, his wisdom, his goodness, his providence over us, and the justness of his judgement; but not his very essence. The question is therefore only put for the sake of dispute. For he who denies that he knows the essence does not confess himself to be ignorant of God, because our idea of God is gathered from all the attributes which I have enumerated. But God, he says, is simple; and whatever attribute of him you have reckoned as knowable is of his essence. But the absurdities involved in this sophism are innumerable. When all these high attributes have been enumerated, are they all names of one essence? And is there the same mutual force in his awefulness and his loving-kindness, his justice and his creative power, his fore-knowledge and his bestowal of rewards and punishments, his majesty and his providence? In mentioning any one of these, do we declare his essence? If they say Yes, let them not ask if we know the essence of God; but let them inquire of us whether we know God to be aweful, or just, or merciful. These we confess that we know. If they say that essence is something distinct, let them not put us in the wrong on the score of simplicity. For they confess themselves that there is a distinction between the essence and each one of the attributes enumerated. The operations are various, and the essence simple; but we say that we know our God from his operations, but do not undertake to approach near to his essence. His operations come down to us; but his essence remains beyond our reach. (NPNF, altered.)

B GREGORY OF NYSSA

85 Gregory of Nyssa on the Trinity

Gregory of Nyssa, *Quod non sint tres dii*, PG, XLV.132–6

The Father is God: the Son is God: and yet by the same proclamation God is One, because no difference either of nature or of operation is contemplated in the Godhead. For if (according to the idea of those who have been led astray) the nature of the Holy Trinity were diverse, the number would by consequence be extended as a plurality of Gods, being divided according to the diversity of essence in the subjects. But since the Divine, single, and unchanging nature, that it may be one, rejects all diversity in essence, it does not admit in its own case the significance of multitude; but as it is called one nature, so it is called in the singular by all its other names, 'God', 'Good', 'Holy', 'Saviour', 'Just', 'Judge', and every other conceivable name that fits God: whether one says that the names refer to nature or to operation we shall not dispute the point.

If, however, any one cavils at our argument, on the ground that by not admitting the difference of nature it leads to a mixture and interchange of the Persons, we shall make to such a charge this answer; – that while we confess the invariable character of the nature, we do not deny the difference in respect of cause (*τὸ αἷτιον*), and that which is caused (*αἷτιατόν*), by which alone we apprehend that one Person is distinguished from another; – by our belief, that is, that one is the Cause, and another is of the Cause; and again in that which is of the Cause, we recognize another distinction. For one is directly from the first Cause, and another through that which is directly from the first Cause; so that the attribute of being only-begotten abides without doubt in the Son and does not call into dispute that the Spirit is from the Father; and the interposition of the Son, while it guards his attribute of being only-begotten, does not shut out the Spirit from his relation by way of nature to the Father.

But in speaking of 'cause', and 'of the cause', we do not by these words denote nature (for no one would give the same definition of 'cause' and of 'nature'), but we indicate the difference in manner of existence. For when we say that one is 'caused', and that the other is 'without cause', we do not divide the nature of the word 'cause', but only indicate the fact that the Son does not exist without generation, nor the Father by generation: but we must needs in the first place believe that something exists, and then scrutinize the manner of existence of the object of belief: thus the question of existence is one, and that of the mode of existence is another. To say that anything exists without generation sets forth the mode of its existence, but what exists is not indicated by this phrase. If one were to ask a husbandman

about a tree, whether it were planted or had grown of itself, and he were to answer either that the tree had not been planted or that it was the result of planting, would he by that answer declare the nature of the tree? Surely not; but while saying how it exists he would leave the question of its nature obscure and unexplained. So, in the other case, when we learn that he is unbegotten, we are taught in what mode he exists, and how it is fit that we should conceive him as existing, but *what* he is we do not hear in that phrase. When, therefore, we acknowledge such a distinction in the case of the Holy Trinity, as to believe that one Person is the Cause, and another is of the Cause, we can no longer be accused of confounding the definition of the Persons by the community of nature.

Thus, since on the one hand the idea of cause differentiates the Persons of the Holy Trinity, declaring that one exists without a Cause, and another is of the Cause; and since on the one hand the Divine nature is apprehended by every conception as unchangeable and undivided, for these reasons we properly declare the Godhead to be one, and God to be one, and employ in the singular all other names which express Divine attributes. (NPNF, altered.)

God is one: i.e. the Lord our God is one Lord (Deut. 6.4), which Gregory had just quoted.

86 Gregory of Nyssa on the Eucharist and Baptism

Gregory of Nyssa, *In Bapt. Chr.*

This holy altar, where we now stand, is in itself an ordinary stone slab, in no way different from other slabs with which our walls are built and our pavements are adorned. But since it has been consecrated for the service of God, and has received the blessing, it is a holy table, an undefiled altar, no longer touched by the hands of all, but only by the priests, and by then with reverence. Again, the bread is, to begin with, common bread, but when the sacramental act has consecrated it, it is called, and becomes, the body of Christ. So with the sacramental oil, and the wine; though things of small value before the blessing, after the sanctification by the Spirit each of them has its special effectiveness. Again, the same power of the word also makes the priest revered and honourable, separated from the community with the general public by the new quality given by the blessing. Yesterday he was one of the crowd, one of the people; he is suddenly made into a leader, a president, a teacher of religion, a guide into hidden mysteries: and he performs these functions without being changed in any way in body or in form. He continues to be the same as before to all

appearance; but he is transformed to a higher state in respect of his invisible soul by an invisible power and grace.

What are the words of the Lord's command? '*Baptizing them in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Spirit.*'¹ Why in the name of the Father? Because he is the First Cause of all things. Why in the name of the Son? Because he is the agent of creation. Why in the name of the Holy Spirit? Because it is his power which brings all to perfection. We therefore bow down to the Father, that we may be sanctified. We bow down to the Son, for this same end. We bow down to the Holy Spirit, that we may become what he is in fact and in name. There is no distinction in the sanctification, as if the Father sanctified in a higher degree, the Son less, the Holy Spirit less again. Why then do you chop up the three Persons into different natures, and produce three Gods, unlike to one another, when from all three you receive one and the same grace? (Tr. H. Bettenson, *LCF*, pp. 161-2.)

C GREGORY OF NAZIANZUS

87 Gregory of Nazianzus on Man's Condition

Gregory, *Orat.*, XXXVII.13

'It is not all who are capable of receiving this saying; but those to whom it is given.'² When you hear 'it is given' do not allow yourself to succumb to any heretical notion: do not bring in various kinds of natures — the earthy, the spiritual, the intermediate. For there are men so perverse as to suppose that some men are of a nature inevitably doomed to perdition; others of a nature destined for salvation; others whose state is such that their own choice leads them either to the good or to the bad. Now I concede that some men have more natural aptitude than others; but I maintain that mere aptitude is insufficient to bring men to perfection. It is deliberate choice that effects this, as fire is produced from flint when it is struck by steel. When you hear the words, 'to whom it is given', you must add, 'it is given to those who are called, and who respond to the call'. I advise you to understand the same addition when you are told that 'it is not a matter of human decision, or human activity, but of God's mercy.'³ There are some who are so elated by their virtuous conduct that they give the whole credit to themselves, and no credit to the Creator, the giver of wisdom, the supplier of everything that is good: and that is why Paul teaches them in this passage that God's help is needed if we are to will rightly; or rather, the very choice of what is right is, in a sense, an act of God, a gift of God's kindness. Our salvation must come from God; but it also depends on us. Therefore Paul says, 'It is not a matter of human

¹ Matt. 28.19

² Matt. 19.11

³ Rom. 9.16

decision' (that is, not of human decision *only*), 'nor of activity (only); but of God's mercy'. Thus he rightly ascribes the whole matter to God, since from God comes the act of willing. However hard you run and however hard you fight you need him who gives the crown.¹ (Tr. H. Bettenson, *LCF*, pp. 99–100.)

Gregory is representing the Eastern view of Grace and Freedom. His views should be compared with those prevalent in the West and put forward by Pelagius and Augustine (see 182, 187 below).

earthy . . . spiritual . . . intermediate: The gnostic Valentinus (second century) divided mankind into three classes: the *pneumatici* ('spiritual'), who were assured of full salvation; the *hylici* ('material'), irretrievably doomed; and the *psychici* ('animate') who might by good works attain a kind of second-class redemption. (See *NER* 51, 65.)

¹ 2 Tim. 4.7ff

10. *The Council of Constantinople, 381*

88 Gregory of Nazianzus at Constantinople, 379–81

1 Socrates *HE*, V.7.1–2

- 1 Now at that time Gregory of Nazianzus, after his translation to Constantinople, held his assemblies within the city in a small oratory, adjoining to which the emperors afterwards built a magnificent church, and named it *Anastasia*. But Gregory, who far excelled in eloquence and piety all those of the age in which he lived, understanding that some murmured at his preferment because he was a stranger, after expressing his joy at the Emperor's arrival, resigned the bishopric of Constantinople. (NPNF.)

Anastasia: Gregory himself calls the building this, representing as it did the resurrection of the Nicene faith after the period of Arian supremacy from 360 onwards, cf. Sozomen, *HE*, VII.5.1–3. As Socrates goes on to say, Theodosius expelled the Arian bishop Demophilus and the Nicaenes regained possession of the Churches. The Emperor then called the council of Constantinople of 381 (the second General Council) (see 91 below).

2 Sozomen, *HE*, VII.7.6–9

- 6 The bishops who remained at Constantinople now turned their attention to an election to the see of the city. It is said that the Emperor, from profound admiration of the sanctity and eloquence of Gregory, judged that he was worthy of this bishopric, and that, from reverence of his virtue, the greater number of the synod was of the same opinion. Gregory at first consented to accept the presidency of the Church of Constantinople; but afterwards, on ascertaining that some of the bishops, particularly those of Egypt, objected to the election, he withdrew his consent. For my part, this wisest of men is worthy of admiration, not only for universal qualifications, but not the least for his conduct under the present circumstances. His eloquence did not inspire him with pride, nor did vainglory lead him to desire the control of the Church, which he had received, when it was no longer in danger. He surrendered his appointment to the bishops when it was required of him, and never complained of his many labours, or of the dangers he had incurred in the suppression of heresies. Had he retained possession of the bishopric of Constantinople, it would have been no detriment to the interests of any individual, as another bishop had been appointed in his stead at Nazianzus. But the council, in strict obedience to the laws of the Fathers and ecclesiastical order, withdrew

from him with his own acquiescence what it had given, without making an exception in favour of so eminent a man. The Emperor and the
 9 priests therefore proceeded to the election of another bishop, which they regarded as the most important affair then requiring attention; and the Emperor was urgent that diligent investigations might be instituted, so that the most excellent and best individual might be intrusted with the high-priesthood of the great and royal city. The council, however, was divided in sentiment; for each of the members desired to see one of his own friends ordained over the Church. (NPNF, slightly altered.)

6. *who remained*: the council of 381 began with the withdrawal of thirty-six 'Macedonian' bishops.

particularly those of Egypt: Peter of Alexandria was implicated in the shameful plot to replace Gregory with Maximus, cf. can. 4 of Constantinople (91 below).

8. *at Nazianzus*: Gregory had been constrained by Basil to be ordained bishop of Sasima, but had never gone to that remote see, and had assisted his father as bishop at Nazianzus.

in obedience of the laws of the Fathers: the 'law' forbidding ecclesiastical translations was most capriciously invoked or disregarded (on this 'law' see can. 1 of Sardica (9 above with note)).

89 The 'Last Farewell' of Gregory of Nazianzus, on his Resignation of the See of Constantinople

Gregory, *Orat.* XLII.24,26,27

24 Perhaps we may be reproached, as we have been before, with the exquisite character of our table, the splendour of our apparel, our public appearances, our haughtiness to those who meet us. I was not aware that we ought to rival the consuls, the governors, the most illustrious generals, who have no opportunity of lavishing their incomes; or that our belly ought to hunger for the enjoyment of the goods of the poor, and to expend their necessities on superfluities, and belch forth over the altars. I did not know that we ought to ride on splendid horses, and drive in magnificent carriages, and be preceded by a procession and surrounded by applause, and have everyone make way for us, as if we were wild beasts, and open out a passage so that our approach might be seen afar. If these sufferings have been endured, they have now passed away. Forgive me this wrong. Elect another who will please the majority; and give me my desert, my country life, and my God, whom alone I may have to please, and shall please by my simple life.

26 Farewell my Anastasia, whose name derived from piety: for thou hast

raised up for us the doctrine which was in contempt: farewell, scene of our common victory, modern Shiloh,¹ where we first fixed the tabernacle after it was carried about in its wanderings for forty years in the wilderness. Farewell likewise, grand and renowned temple, our new inheritance, whose greatness is now due to the Word, which once was a Jebus,² and which we have now made a Jerusalem. Farewell, all ye others, inferior only to this in beauty, scattered through the various parts of the city, like so many links, uniting together each your own neighbourhood, which have been filled with worshippers of whose existence we had despaired, not by me, in my weakness, but by the grace which was with me.³ Farewell, ye Apostles, noble settlers here, my masters in the strife; if I have not often kept festival with you, it has been possibly due to the Satan which I, like St Paul,⁴ who was one of you, carry about in my body for my own profit, and which is the cause of my now leaving you. Farewell, my throne, envied and perilous height; farewell assembly of high priests, honoured by the dignity and age of its priests, and all ye others, ministers of God round the holy table, drawing nigh to the God who draws nigh to you.⁵

- 27 Farewell, mighty Christ-loving city. I will testify to the truth, though thy zeal be not according to knowledge.⁶ Our separation renders us more kindly. Approach the truth: be converted at this late hour. Honour God more than you have been wont to do. It is no disgrace to change, while it is fatal to cling to evil. Farewell, East and West, for whom and against whom I have had to fight; he is witness, who will give you peace, if but a few would imitate my retirement. For those who resign their thrones will not also lose God, but will have the seat on high, which is far more exalted and secure. Last of all, and most of all, I will cry—farewell ye Angels, guardians of this Church, and of my presence and pilgrimage, since our affairs are in the hands of God. Farewell, O Trinity, my meditation, and my glory. Mayest thou be preserved by those who are here, and preserve them, my people: for they are mine, even if I have my place assigned elsewhere; and may I learn that thou art ever extolled and glorified in word and conduct. (NPNF, altered.)

At the council of Constantinople of 381, Gregory's position as bishop of that city was vindicated against the claims of the charlatan Maximus, cf. can. 4 of Constantinople (91 below), and after the death of Meletius of Antioch, he assumed the presidency of the council. But he was quite unfitted for ecclesiastical politics, and when his advocacy of the long-agreed solution, that Paulinus should now be bishop of Antioch, was of no avail (see 81 above), and there still were murmurs, particularly amongst the Egyptians, against his translation from Sasima, he decided to retire from the scene.

¹ Josh. 18.1

² 1 Chron. 11.4

³ 1 Cor. 15.10

⁴ Cf. 2 Cor. 12.7

⁵ James 4.8

⁶ Rom. 10.2

24. *the exquisite character of our table etc.*: Gregory is, of course, being sarcastic.

26. *my Anastasia*: the chapel of the Resurrection in which Gregory had first preached the Nicene faith in Constantinople.

our new inheritance: the cathedral of St Sophia.

ye Apostles: the church of the Apostles, in which Constantine was buried, himself the thirteenth Apostle, and now enriched by the relics of Andrew the Apostle, Luke the Evangelist, and Timothy.

carry about in my body: Gregory was plagued by ill health.

90 The Creed of Constantinople, 381

Described as 'the faith of the 150 fathers', read at the third session of the Council of Chalcedon, 10 October 451. Text published by E. Schwartz, ACO, 1.2, pp. 79f

Πιστεύομεν εἰς ἓνα θεὸν
πατέρα, παντοκράτορα,
ποιητὴν οὐρανοῦ καὶ γῆς,
ὁρατῶν τε πάντων καὶ
ἀοράτων.

We believe in one God the Father
almighty, maker of *heaven and
earth*, of all things visible and
invisible;

Καὶ εἰς ἓνα κύριον Ἰησοῦν
Χριστόν, τὸν υἱὸν τοῦ θεοῦ
τὸν μονογενῆ, τὸν ἐκ τοῦ
πατρὸς γεννηθέντα πρὸ πάντων
τῶν αἰώνων, φῶς ἐκ φωτός,
θεὸν ἀληθινὸν ἐκ θεοῦ
ἀληθινοῦ, γεννηθέντα οὐ
ποιηθέντα, ὁμοούσιον τῷ
πατρί, δι' οὗ τὰ πάντα ἐγένετο,
τὸν δι' ἡμᾶς τοὺς ἀνθρώπους
καὶ διὰ ἀνθρώπους καὶ διὰ τὴν
ἡμετέραν σωτηρίαν
κατελθόντα ἐκ τῶν οὐρανῶν
καὶ σαρκωθέντα ἐκ πνεύματος
ἁγίου καὶ Μαρίας τῆς
παρθένου καὶ
ἐνανθρωπήσαντα,
σταυρωθέντα τε ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν
ἐπὶ Ποντίου Πιλάτου, καὶ
παθόντα καὶ ταφέντα, καὶ
ἀναστάντα τῇ τρίτῃ ἡμέρᾳ
κατὰ τὰς γραφάς, καὶ
ἀνελθόντα εἰς τοὺς
οὐρανοὺς, καὶ καθεζόμενον ἐν

And in one Lord Jesus Christ, the
only begotten Son of God,
begotten from the Father *before
all ages*, light from light, true God
from true God, begotten not
made, of one substance with the
Father, through Whom all things
came into existence, Who
because of us men and because of
our salvation came down *from the
heavens*, and was incarnate *from
the Holy Spirit and the Virgin Mary*
and became man, and was
crucified *for us under Pontius
Pilate*, and suffered and *was
buried*, and rose again on the third
day *according to the Scriptures* and
ascended to heaven, and *sits on
the right hand of the Father*, and
will come again *with glory* to judge
living and dead, *of Whose kingdom
there will be no end*;

δεξιᾷ τοῦ πατρὸς, καὶ πάλιν
ἐρχόμενον μετὰ δόξης κρίναι
ζῶντας καὶ νεκρούς· οὐ τῆς
βασιλείας οὐκ ἔσται τέλος.

Καὶ εἰς τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον,
τὸ κύριον καὶ τὸ ζωοποιόν,
τὸ ἐκ τοῦ πατρὸς
ἐκπορευόμενον, τὸ σὺν πατρὶ
καὶ υἱῷ συμπροσκυνούμενον
καὶ συνδοξαζόμενον, τὸ
λαλῆσαν διὰ τῶν προφητῶν·
εἰς μίαν ἁγίαν καθολικὴν καὶ
ἀποστολικὴν ἐκκλησίαν.
ὁμολογοῦμεν ἓν βάπτισμα
εἰς ἄφεσιν ἁμαρτιῶν·
προσδοκῶμεν ἀνάστασιν
νεκρῶν καὶ ζωὴν τοῦ
μέλλοντος αἰῶνος. ἀμήν.

And in the Holy Spirit, *the Lord
and life-giver, Who proceeds from
the Father, Who with the Father and
the Son is together worshipped and
together glorified, Who spoke through
the prophets; in one holy Catholic
and apostolic Church. We confess one
baptism to the remission of sins; we
look forward to the resurrection of the
dead and the life of the world to
come. Amen.*

(Reproduced from J. N. D. Kelly, *Early Christian Creeds*, pp. 297–8.)

Phrases that do not occur in the Creed of Nicaea are italicized. Omitted from the Creed of Nicaea are the words ‘from the substance of the Father: God from God’, in para 2, 1.2 following ‘Son of God’, and ‘things in heaven and things in earth’ after ‘came into existence’ (1.7). For discussion of the origins of this document, and for the significance of the omissions and insertions, compared with the Creed of Nicaea, see Kelly, *op. cit.*, ch. X.

91 Canons of Constantinople, 381

Text and commentary in Hefele-Leclercq, II 1, pp. 18–28, with pp. 29–35 for canons 5 and 6 and in W. Bright, *Canons*, ed. 2, pp. XXI–XXIV; text in Jonkers, pp. 107–11.

In a letter to Theodosius I, which is prefixed to the canons, the council states its purpose and achievement as follows (text in Mansi, *Concil. omn. Amplissima Collectio*, 3, col. 557):

Having then assembled at Constantinople according to the letter of your Piety, we in the first place renewed our mutual regard for each other, and then pronounced some short definitions, ratifying the faith of the Nicene Fathers, and anathematizing the heresies which have sprung up contrary to it. In addition to this we have established certain canons for the right ordering of the Churches, all of which we have subjoined to this our letter. We pray therefore your Clemency, that the decree may be confirmed by the letter of your Piety, that as you have

honoured the Church by the letters calling us together, so also you may ratify the conclusion of what has been decreed.

- 1 That the faith of the 318 Fathers who assembled at Nicaea in Bithynia, is not to be made void, but shall continue established; and that every heresy shall be anathematized, and especially that of the Eunomians or Anomoeans, and that of the Arians or Eudoxians, and that of the Semiarians or Pneumatomachi, and that of the Sabellians and Marcellians, and that of the Photinians, and that of the Apollinarians.

the 318 Fathers: to correspond with the number of the servants of Abraham in Gen. 14.14. Cf. *NER* 293n.

Anomoeans: cf. 35 above.

Arians: 'the ordinary Arians of the period, or . . . the Acacian party' (Bright, *op. cit.*, ad loc.), cf. 33 above.

Semiarians: the real Semi-Arian party had broken up: the council is dealing with a fragment of this party, who had come to reject the deity of the Spirit.

Marcellians: cf. 5, 7 above.

Photinians: cf. 10 above.

Apollinarians: cf. 70 above, 93 below.

- 2 Bishops outside a diocese must not enter upon Churches outside their own borders, nor bring confusion into the Churches; but according to the canons, the Bishop of Alexandria must have the administration of the affairs of Egypt only, and the bishops of the East must administer the East only, the privileges which were assigned to the Church of Antioch by the canons made at Nicaea being preserved; and the bishops of the Asian diocese must administer the affairs of the Asian only; and those of the Pontic diocese the affairs of the Pontic only; and those of Thrace the affairs of Thrace only. Moreover, bishops may not without being invited go beyond the bounds of their diocese for the purpose of ordaining, or any other ecclesiastical function.

The above canon respecting the dioceses being observed, it is plain that the synod of each province must administer the affairs of the province, according to what was decreed at Nicaea.

But the Churches of God which are among the barbarians must be administered according to the usage of the Fathers which has prevailed.

outside a diocese: 'diocese' means one of the groups of provinces into which the Empire was divided.

their own borders: i.e. of their own diocese.

the affairs of Egypt only: the recent interference of Peter of Alexandria in the affair of Maximus (canon 4) must have been much in the mind of the council.

the East: i.e. the huge diocese of which Antioch was the capital: e.g. Theodoret, *Ep.* 113 calls Theodotus of Antioch (420–29) 'the chief bishop of the East'.

the affairs of the province: i.e. in provinces, which were smaller divisions.

Churches . . . among the barbarians: these were normally dependent on some great Church within the Empire.

- 3 The Bishop of Constantinople shall have the Primacy of honour after the Bishop of Rome, because Constantinople is new Rome.

Cf. canons of Chalcedon 9, 19, 28 (248 below).

'This decree is prejudicial to the status of the great sees of Alexandria and Antioch' (Bright, *op. cit.*, p. 109).

Some think that the document called *Decretum Gelasianum* (ed. E. von Dobschütz, in TU XXXVIII (1912) is the reply of a Roman council of 382 to this canon of Constantinople. Part of the document is printed in Giles, *Documents*, no. 99, pp. 130-1. Jalland, *The Church and the Papacy*, pp. 255-7, accepts the Damasine origin of the *Decretum*. Batiffol, *Le Siège Apostolique*, pp. 147-50, shared von Dobschütz' scepticism.

- 4 With respect to Maximus the Cynic and the disorder which took place in Constantinople on his account, it is decreed that Maximus neither was nor is a bishop, and that those who have been ordained by him, are not in any rank whatever of the clergy; and all things which have been done either about him or by him are made void.

For Maximus cf. 88n, 89n above.

'Ecclesiastical history hardly presents a more extraordinary career than that of this man, who, after a most disreputable youth, more than once brought to justice for his misdeeds, and bearing the scars of his punishment, by sheer impudence, clever flattery, and adroit management of opportunities, contrived to gain the confidence successively of no less men than Peter of Alexandria, Gregory Nazianzen, and Ambrose, and to instal himself in one of the first sees of the Church, from which he was with difficulty dislodged by a decree of an ecumenical council' (*DCB*, s.v. Maximus (11)).

These four canons are the genuine canons of the council of 381. The canons numbered 5 and 6 (printed below) belong probably to a council of 382 (cf. 92 below), and no. 7 is not a canon, but a document showing the practices used in receiving converts from heretical sects, and it may be of later date.

- 5 As regards the tome of the Western bishops, we have also received those in Antioch who confess the one Divinity of the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost.

the tome: for this as title of an ecclesiastical document, cf., for example, the *Tome* of Leo (241 below). The references here may be to a document sent to the East from a Roman council, and accepted at Antioch by a council there c. September 379, and the reply of the council is 'a contribution to the cause of peace' (Bright, *op. cit.*, p. 115), by recognizing the parties of Paulinus and Meletius.

- 6 [Owing to false charges against orthodox bishops, designed merely for calumny and to cause disturbance in the Churches,] the Holy Synod of bishops assembled at Constantinople has determined not to admit accusers without inquiry; and neither to allow all persons to make accusations against the rulers of the Church, nor to exclude all from doing so.

[If anyone brings a private charge against a bishop, relating to his own affairs,] in such accusations neither the person of the accuser nor his religion is to be inquired into; for it is by all means necessary that the conscience of the bishop should be clear, and that he who complains of being injured should obtain justice, of whatever religion he may be.

But if the accusation brought against the bishop be ecclesiastical, then it is necessary that the persons of the accusers should be examined; that, in the first place, heretics may not be allowed to make charges concerning ecclesiastical matters against orthodox bishops. And we include under the name of heretics, those who have been formerly excommunicated by the Church, and those who have since been anathematized by us, and in addition to these, those also, who do indeed pretend to confess the sound faith, but have separated themselves, and formed congregations in opposition to our canonical bishops.

[No charges brought by rejects from the Church, or by persons under prior accusation are to be countenanced, till the accusers have cleared themselves.]

If, however, any persons being neither heretics, nor excommunicate, nor condemned, nor under accusation for any faults shall say that they have certain ecclesiastical accusations against the bishop, the Holy Synod orders them, first to advance their charges before all the bishops of the province, and to prove before them the accusations which they bring against the bishop. But if it should happen that the bishops of the province are unable to set to rights the matters charged against the bishop, then they must have recourse to the greater synod of the bishops of that diocese called together for this purpose. They must not, however, advance the charges before they have agreed in writing to submit to an equal penalty, if upon examination of the matter, they should be convicted of bringing false charges against the bishop, whom they accuse.

[There must be no appeals to the Emperor, secular courts, or an ecumenical synod.] (W. A. Hammond, *The Definitions of Faith*, altered.)

92 Gregory of Nazianzus: the Futility of Councils, 382

Gregory, *Ep.* CXXX

For my part, if I am to write the truth, my inclination is to avoid all assemblies of bishops, because I have never seen any council come to a good end, nor turn out to be a solution of evils. On the contrary, it usually increases them. You always find there love of contention and

love of power (I hope you will not think me a bore, for writing like this), which beggar description; and, while sitting in judgement on others, a man might well be convicted of ill-doing himself long before he should put down the ill-doings of his opponents. So I retired into myself; and came to the conclusion that the only security for one's soul lies in keeping quiet. Now, moreover, this determination of mine is supported by ill-health; for I am always on the point of breathing my last, and am hardly able to employ myself to any effect. I trust, therefore, that your magnanimity will pardon me, and that you will be good enough to persuade our most religious Emperor also not to condemn me for taking things quietly, but to make allowances for my ill-health. He knows how it was on this very account that he consented to my retirement, when I petitioned for this in preference to any other mark of his favour. (Kidd, *Documents*, II, pp. 112-13, slightly altered.)

This letter is addressed to Procopius, a high official, perhaps Vicarius Ponticae.

A council had been called to meet at Constantinople in 382, but Gregory, after his experiences of the previous year, and through his own ill-health, was unwilling to attend.

93 Condemnation of Apollinarianism, 388

Cod. Theod. XVI.5.14

We command that the Apollinarians and all other followers of diverse heresies shall be prohibited from all places, from the walls of the cities, from the congregation of honourable men, from the communion of the saints. They shall not have the right to ordain clerics, they shall forfeit the privilege of assembling congregations either in public or private churches. No authority shall be granted to them for creating bishops; moreover, persons so appointed shall be deprived of the name of bishop and shall forfeit the appellation of this dignity. They shall go to places which will seclude them most effectively, as though by a wall, from human association. Moreover, We subjoin to the foregoing provisions that to all the aforesaid persons the opportunity to approach and address our Serenity shall be denied. (Pharr, p. 453.)

Issued by Gratian, Valentinian II, and Theodosius I.

The Apollinarians, and sundry other named heretics, are condemned in *Cod. Theod.* XVI.5.12 & 13 (of AD 383 and 384); also in *ibid.* 33 (of AD 397), 65 (of AD 435).

II Ambrose (c. 339–97), Bishop of Milan 373–97

94 Ambrose becomes Bishop of Milan, 373

Paulinus, *Life of Ambrose*, 6

During this period Auxentius died; he was a bishop of the Arian faithlessness, who had kept possession of the Church at Milan since Dionysius, Confessor of the faith, of blessed memory, had been sent into exile. Seeing that the people were threatening to riot over the choice of a new bishop, and being responsible for quelling riots, Ambrose proceeded to the church in case the city populace should be roused to courses dangerous to itself. While he was addressing those assembled there, a child's voice (it is said) suddenly cried out: 'Ambrose for bishop!' The whole people turned to greet this cry, and began clamouring in unison: 'Ambrose for bishop!' So it came about that, where before there had been the most violent dissension, with Arians and Catholics each wanting the other party to be defeated and a bishop of their own consecrated, suddenly they agreed on this man with a miraculous and incredible unanimity. (F. R. Hoare, *The Western Fathers*, pp. 152–3, altered.)

During this period: i.e. when Ambrose was governor of the provinces of Aemilia-Liguria.

Auxentius died: about October 373. He was bishop of Milan from 355, in which year Dionysius was exiled. Some scholars date Ambrose's consecration to 374.

The succeeding chapters of Paulinus (tr. in Hoare, op. cit.) go on to describe the efforts of Ambrose to avoid undertaking the office.

95 The Altar of Victory, 384

I The Plea of Symmachus

Symmachus, *Relatio* III.3–10; Text in *PL*, XVIII.390–3, *MGH, Auct. Antiquiss.*, VI.i, pp. 280–3

The references to sections are as in LF.

'The goddess seemed to preside at the deliberations of the Senate; it is towards her that senators stretched out their hands while swearing fidelity at the accession of a new Emperor, and on the third of January each year, when they uttered solemn vows for the safety of the Emperor and the prosperity of

the Empire. These ceremonies went on without interruption from the time of Augustus to the triumph of Christianity' (Boissier, *La fin du paganisme*, II, p. 261).

The altar was removed by Constantius, restored by Julian, removed by Gratian (in 382).

- 3 We ask the restoration of that state of religion under which the Republic has so long prospered. Let the Emperors of either sect and either opinion be counted up; the earlier Emperors observed the rites of their ancestors, their successor did not abolish them. If the religion of older times is no precedent, let the connivance of the last Emperors be so.
- 4 Who is so friendly with the barbarians as not to require an altar of Victory? Hereafter we must be cautious, and avoid a display of such things. But let at least that honour be paid to the name which is denied to the Divinity. Your Eternity owes much, and will owe still more, to Victory. Let those detest this power, who were never aided by it, but do you not desert a patronage which favours your triumphs. Vows are due to this power from every man, let no one deny that a power is to be venerated which he owns is to be desired.
- 5 But even if it were wrong to avoid this omen, at least the ornaments of the Senate-house ought to have been spared. Permit us, I beseech you, to transmit in our old age to our prosperity what we ourselves received when we were boys. Great is the love of custom. And deservedly was the act of the deified Constantius of short duration. You ought to avoid all precedents which you know to have thus been reversed. We are solicitous for the endurance of your name and glory, and that a future age may find nothing to amend.
- 6 [If the altar is removed, the sanction of the oaths taken there will also
- 7 be removed. Even though Constantius removed it, we should rather imitate his other acts.]
- 8 Will your Eternity listen to other acts of this same Emperor more worthy of your imitation? He left uncurtailed the privileges of the sacred virgins, he filled the priestly office with men of noble birth, he allowed the cost of the Roman ceremonies, and following the joyful Senate through all the streets of the eternal city, he beheld with serene countenance the temples; reading the names of the gods inscribed on their pediments, he inquired after the origin of the sacred edifices, and admired their founders. Although he himself professed another religion he maintained the ancient one for the Empire.

For every man has his own customs, his own rites. The Divine mind has distributed to cities various rites to protect them. As each man that is born receives a soul, so do nations receive a genius who guards their destiny. Here the proof from utility comes in, which is our best voucher with regard to the Deity. For since our reason is in the dark, what better knowledge of the gods can we have than from the record

and evidence of prosperity? And if a long course of years give sanction to a religion, we ought to keep faith with so many centuries, and to follow our parents, as they followed with success their own.

9 Let us suppose Rome herself to approach and address you in these terms: 'Excellent Emperors, Fathers of your country, respect these years to which pious rites have conducted me. Let me use the ancient ceremonies, for I do not repent of them. Let me live in my own way, for I am free. This worship reduced the world under my laws; these sacred rites repulsed Hannibal from the walls, and the Gauls from the Capitol. Am I reserved for this to be censured in my old age? I am not unwilling to consider the proposed decree, and yet late and ignominious is the reformation of old age.'

10 We pray, therefore, for a respite for the 'gods of our country' and the 'heroes of our soil'. That which all venerate should in fairness be accounted as one. We look on the same stars, the heaven is common to us all, the same world surrounds us. What matters it by what arts each of us seeks for truth? We cannot arrive by one and the same path at so great a secret; but this discussion belongs rather to persons at their ease; it is prayers, not arguments which we now offer. (LF, Ambrose, *Letters*, slightly altered.)

The *Relatio* was addressed to Valentinian II, Theodosius I, and Arcadius, but in effect it was addressed to the first named.

3. *the earlier Emperors*: i.e. up to and including Julian.

their successor: i.e. Valentinian I.

the connivance: i.e. of Valentinian I and Valens.

4. *Eternity*: an abstract term, applied to the Emperor.

5. *the act of the deified Constantius*: i.e. the removal of the altar.

8. *He beheld, etc.*: on his visit in 357 when 'he assumed an attitude of genial toleration' (Homes Dudden, *St Ambrose*, I. p. 256).

a genius: 'genius' = fortune, tutelary spirit cf., for example, *Martyrdom of Polycarp*, IX.2 (NER, p. 29).

evidence of prosperity: this was the opinion of Constantine.

10. 'gods of our country': cf. Virgil, *Georgics*, I, 498 (the translation is borrowed from T. E. Paget's noted ad loc.).

2 Ambrose Replies to Symmachus

Ambrose dealt with the pagan plea in two letters addressed to Valentinian II. *Ep.* XVII was written before he had seen the text of Symmachus; *Ep.* XVIII is a detailed refutation of the *Relatio*.

Ambrose, *Ep.* XVII 12-15

12 Remembering then the commission so lately laid upon me, I again appeal to your own faith, I appeal to your own sentiments, not to give your answer in accordance with this heathen petition, or sign your name to such an answer, for it would be sacrilegious. Consult him who

is your Excellency's father, the Emperor Theodosius, to whom you have been wont to refer in all causes of importance; and nothing can be graver than religion, more exalted than faith.

- 13 Were this a civil matter, the right of reply would be reserved for the opposing party: it is a matter of religion, and I, as bishop, appeal to you, I request to be furnished with a copy of the Memorial which has been sent, that I may answer more at large; so let your Majesty's father be consulted on the whole matter and vouchsafe a gracious answer. Assuredly should an adverse decree be issued, we as bishops cannot quietly permit and connive at it; it will indeed be in your power to come to the church, but there you will either not find a priest, or you will find one purposed to resist.

- 14 What answer will you give to the priest when he says to you, 'The Church seeks not your gifts, because you have adorned the heathen temples with gifts; the Altar of Christ rejects your gifts, because you have erected altars to idols, for it was your word, your hand, your signature, your act: the Lord Jesus refuses and repels your service, because you have served idols, for he has said to you, *Ye cannot serve two masters*?¹ The Virgins dedicated to God enjoy no privileges from you, and do the Vestal Virgins claim them? What do you want of the priests of God, when you have preferred to them the profane petitions of the heathen? We cannot enter into fellowship with the errors of others.'

- 15 What will you answer to this charge? That it is a boyish error? Every age is perfect in Christ, and fulfilled with God. No childhood in faith can be admitted; for children confronted with their persecutors have boldly confessed Christ. (LF, slightly altered.)

12. *the commission*: two years previously Damasus sent to Ambrose a document presented by the Christian senators, whom Ambrose alleges to be a majority (cf. *Ep.* XVIII.32), protesting against a possible restoration of the altar. Ambrose sent this to Gratian, with whom he had great influence.

your Excellency's (pietas) father: i.e. Theodosius, his father not in actuality but in years.

Ambrose, *Ep.* XVIII.4–6,8

- 4 According to his first proposition, Rome utters a mournful complaint, wanting back (as he asserts) her ancient ceremonies. These sacred rites, he says, repelled Hannibal from the walls, the Gauls from the Capitol. But even here, in blazoning the efficacy of these rites, he betrays their weakness. According to this, Hannibal long insulted the Roman religion, and pushed his conquest to the very walls of the city, though the gods fought against him. Why did they, for whom their gods fought, allow themselves to be besieged?

- 5 For why speak of the Gauls, whom the remnant of the Romans

¹ Matt. 6.24

could not have prevented from entering the sanctuary of the Capitol, if the cackling of a sacred goose had not betrayed them? These are the guardians of the Roman temples! Where was Jupiter then? Did he speak in a goose?

6 But why should I deny that their sacred rites fought for the Romans? Yet Hannibal also worshipped the same gods. Let them choose therefore, which they will. If these rites conquered in the Romans, they were vanquished in the Carthaginians; but if they were thus overcome in the case of the Carthaginians neither did they profit the Romans.

8 By a single path, he says, we cannot arrive at so great a secret. What you are ignorant of, that we have learnt by the voice of God; what you seek after by faint surmises, that we are assured of by the very Wisdom and Truth of God. Our customs, therefore, and yours do not agree. You ask the Emperors to grant peace to your gods, we pray for peace for the Emperors themselves from Christ. You worship the works of your own hands; we think it sacrilege that anything which can be made should be called god. God wills not to be worshipped under the form of stones. Nay, your very philosophers have ridiculed this. (LF, Ambrose, *Letters*, altered.)

4. *to the very walls of the city*: in 211 BC.

96 The Council of Aquileia, 381

Palladius of Ratiaria and Secundianus of Singidunum were bishops loyal to the Creed of Ariminum: they persuaded Gratian to call a council of Eastern and Western bishops at Aquileia to discuss doctrine. But Ambrose did not want such a council (see below), and persuaded the Emperor to allow the matters at issue to be settled by a Western council though Easterners could attend if they wished. The council was really a trial of the two above-mentioned bishops. The date of the council is given in the *Gesta* as early September, but the actual date must have been early in the year, cf. Homes Dudden, *St Ambrose*, I, p. 202, n.2.

1 Letter of the Emperor

(*Gesta Concilii Aquileienseis*, 3–4 (PL, XVI 916ff))

3 Desirous to try at once to prevent dissension among bishops from uncertainty as to what doctrines they should reverence, we had ordered the bishops to come together into the city of Aquileia, out of the diocese which has been confided to the merits of your Excellency. For controversies of dubious import could not be better disentangled than by our constituting the bishops themselves to interpret the dispute that has arisen, so that the same persons from whom come forth the doctrinal ordinances may solve the contradictions of discordant learning.

4 Nor is our present order different from the last: we do not alter the

tenor of our command, but we correct the superfluous numbers that would have assembled. For as Ambrose, bishop of Milan, eminent both for the merits of his life and the favour of God, suggests that there is no occasion for numbers in a case in which the truth would not suffer from many antagonists if its supporters were limited in number, and that he and the bishops of the adjoining cities of Italy would be more than sufficient to meet the assertions of the opposite party, we have judged it right to refrain from troubling men worthy of reverence by bringing into strange lands anyone who was either loaded with years, or disabled with bodily weakness, or in the slender circumstances of honourable poverty. (LF, altered.)

3. *the diocese*: i.e. the civil diocese of *Italia* (N. Italy). The letter is probably addressed to the praetorian prefect, who, according to sect. 7 of the *Acta*, had issued letters inviting Eastern bishops to attend if they wished.

4. *the adjoining cities*: representatives attended from Africa and Gaul also.

2 Ambrose to the Emperors

Ambrose, *Ep.* X.1–4

1–2 [Ambrose thanks the Emperors for the calling of the council, and points out how unnecessary it would have been for bishops to come
3 from all over the Empire]; ‘what a hardship it would have been, that on account of two bishops only, who are rotten in perfidy, the Churches over the whole world should be left destitute of their bishops.’

4 In the first instance we examined the very beginning of the question which had arisen, and we thought fit to hear recited the letter of Arius, who is found to be the author of the Arian heresy, from whom also the heresy received its name, the arrangement being thus far even favourable to them, that since they had been in the habit of denying that they were Arians they might either by censure condemn the blasphemies of Arius, or by argument maintain them, or at least not refuse the name of the person, whose impiety and perfidy they followed. But inasmuch as they could not condemn and were unwilling to support their Founder, after they had themselves, three days before, challenged us to a discussion, fixing place and time, and gone forth to it without waiting to be summoned, on a sudden the very individuals, who had said that they would easily prove that they were Christians (which we heard with pleasure, and hoped that they would prove), began to shrink from the engagement on the spot and to decline the discussion. (LF.)

4. *the letter of Arius*: probably a letter to Alexander of Alexandria (cf *NER* 284). The discussion was complicated by the quibbles of Palladius, who had asked the council to get on with the business, and then questioned its competence, and who continually gave evasive replies to theological questions. Eventually he and Secundianus were condemned, and in *Ep.* X.8 Ambrose asks the Emperors to assist in carrying out the council’s decision.

97 The Struggle between Ambrose and the Court at Milan: Round One, 385

Ambrose, *Ep.* XX

- 1 Since in almost all your letters you inquire anxiously about the Church, hear what is going on. The day after I received your letter, in which you said you were troubled by your dreams, the pressure of heavy troubles began to be felt. And this time it was not the Portian basilica, that is the one outside the walls, which was demanded, but the new basilica, that is the one within the walls, which is larger.
- 2 First of all some great men, counsellors of state, begged me to give up the basilica, and to ensure that the people should make no disturbance. I replied, of course, that a temple of God could not be surrendered by a bishop.
- 3 On the following day this answer was approved by the people in the church (i.e. the new basilica); and the Prefect came there, and began to persuade us to give up at least the Portian basilica, but the people clamoured against it. He then went away implying that he should report to the Emperor.
- 4 The day after, which was the Lord's Day, after the lessons and the sermon, I was teaching the creed to certain candidates in the baptistery of the basilica. There it was reported to me that they had sent servants from the palace, and were putting up hangings, and that part of the people were going there. I, however, remained at my ministrations, and began to celebrate mass.
- 5 Whilst offering the oblation, I heard that a certain Castulus, whom the Arians called a presbyter, had been seized by the people. I began to weep bitterly, and to implore God in the very oblation that he would come to our aid, that Castulus' blood be not shed in the Church's cause, or at least that it might be my blood shed for the benefit not of my people only, but also for the unbelievers themselves. Not to say more, I sent presbyters and deacons and rescued the man from violence.
- 6 [Reprisals immediately took place, and instead of the Easter amnesty there were numerous arrests of wealthy men, who were ordered to pay a large fine. They refused to surrender.
- 7 Officials were forbidden to go near the basilica; men of position were threatened, if they did not secure its surrender.]
- 8 The Counts and Tribunes came and urged me to cause the basilica to be quickly surrendered, saying that the Emperor was exercising his rights since everything was under his power. I answered that if he asked of me what was mine, that is, my land, my money, or whatever of this kind was my own, I would not refuse it, although all that I have belonged to the poor, but that those things which are God's are not subject to the imperial power. 'If my patrimony is required, enter upon

it, if my body, I will go at once. Do you wish to cast me into chains, or to give me to death? it will be a pleasure to me. I will not defend myself with throngs of people, nor will I cling to the altars and entreat for my life, but will more gladly be slain myself for the altars.'

9 I was indeed struck with horror when I learnt that armed men had been sent to take possession of the basilica, lest while the people were defending the basilica, there might be some slaughter which would tend to the injury of the whole city. I prayed that I might not survive the destruction of so great a city, or it might be of the whole of Italy. I feared the odium of shedding blood, I offered my own neck. Some Gothic tribunes were present, whom I accosted, and said, 'Have you received the gift of Roman rights in order to make yourselves ministers of public disorder? Whither will you go, if things here are destroyed?'

10 Then I was desired to restrain the people; I answered that it was in my power not to excite them, but in God's hands to quiet them. And that if they thought that I was urging them on, they ought at once to punish me, or that I ought to be sent to any desert part of the earth they chose. After I had said this, they departed, and I spent the whole day in the old basilica, and thence went home to sleep, that if anyone wanted to carry me off he might find me ready.

11 Before day when I left the house the (Portian) basilica was surrounded by soldiers. It is said that the soldiers had intimated to the Emperor that if he wished to go forth he could do so; that they would be in attendance, if they saw him go to join the Catholics; if not, that they would go to the assembly which Ambrose had convened.

12 None of the Arians dared to go forth, for there was not one among the citizens, only a few of the royal family, and some of the Goths. And as of old they made use of their waggons as dwellings, now make the church their waggon. Wherever that woman goes, she carries with her all her assemblage.

13 I heard that the basilica was surrounded by the groaning of the people, but whilst the lessons were being read, I was informed that the new basilica also was full of people, that the crowd seemed greater than when they were all free, and that a Reader was being called for. In short, the soldiers themselves who seemed to have occupied the basilica, when they knew that I had ordered that the people should abstain from communion with them, began to come to our assembly. When they saw this, the minds of the women were troubled, and one rushed forth. But the soldiers themselves said that they had come for prayer not for fighting. The people uttered some cries. With great moderation, with great instancy, with great faithfulness they begged that we would go to that basilica. It was said, too, that the people in that basilica were demanding my presence.

14–16 [Ambrose then began to preach from the book of Job, from which the lessons had been taken. The issue for his supporters, as for Job,

was to speak a word against God, and die.¹ They had an even more decisive issue, as they had to act against God.

17-18 Ambrose passed on to temptations and calamities caused by women, Eve, Jezebel, Herodias.]

19 At last the command was given: Surrender the basilica. My reply was, It is not lawful for me to surrender it, nor advantageous for you, Sir, to receive it. By no right can you violate the house of a private person, and do you think that the house of God may be taken away? It is asserted that everything is lawful for the Emperor, that all things are his. My answer is: Do not, O Emperor lay on yourself the burden of such a thought as that you have any imperial power over those things which belong to God. Exalt not yourself, but if you desire to reign long, submit yourself to God. It is written: *The things which are God's to God, those which are Caesar's to Caesar.*² The palaces belong to the Emperor, the churches to the Bishop. Authority is committed to you over public, not sacred buildings. Again the Emperor was stated to have declared: I also ought to have one basilica. My answer was: It is not lawful for you to have it. What have you to do with an adulteress? For she is an adulteress who is not joined to Christ in lawful wedlock.

20 Whilst I was treating on this matter, tidings were brought me that the royal hangings were taken down, and the (new) basilica filled with people, who were calling for my presence, so I at once turned my discourse to this, and said: How high and how deep are the oracles of the Holy Spirit! We said at Mattins, as you, brethren, remember, and made the response with the greatest grief of mind: *O God, the heathen are come into thine inheritance.*³ And in very deed the heathen came, and even worse than the heathen came; for the Goths came, and men of different nations; they came with weapons and surrounded and occupied the basilica. We in our ignorance of thy greatness mourned over this, but our want of foresight was in error.

21 The heathen are come, and in very truth are come into thine inheritance, for they who came as heathen have become Christians. Those who came to invade thine inheritance have been made co-heirs with God. I have those as protectors whom I considered to be adversaries. That is fulfilled which the Prophet sang of the Lord Jesus that *His dwelling is in peace and There brake he the horns of the bows, the shield, the sword and the battle.*⁴ For whose gift is this, whose work is this but thine, Lord Jesus? Thou sawest armed men coming to thy temple; on the one hand the people wailing and coming in throngs so as not to seem to surrender the basilica of God, on the other hand the soldiers ordered to use violence. Death was before my eyes, lest madness should gain any footing whilst things were thus. Thou, O Lord, didst come between, and madest of twain one. Thou didst restrain the

¹ Job. 2.9

² Mark 12.17

³ Ps. 79(78).1

⁴ Ps. 76(75).2, 3 (Salem, peace)

armed men, saying, If ye run together to arms, if those shut up in my temple are troubled, *what profit is there in my blood.*¹ Thanks then be made unto thee, O Christ. No ambassador, no messenger, but thou, O Lord, hast saved thy people, *thou hast put off my sackcloth and girded me with gladness.*²

22 I said these things, wondering that the Emperor's mind could be softened by the zeal of the soldiers, the entreaties of the Counts, and the supplication of the people. Meanwhile I was told that a secretary had been sent to me, to bring me orders. I retired a little, and he intimated the order to me. What were you thinking of, he said, in acting against the Emperor's decree? I replied: I do not know what has been decreed, and I have not been informed of what has been unadvisedly done. He asked: Why did you send presbyters to the basilica? If you are a tyrant I wish to know it, that I may know how to prepare against you. I replied by saying that I had done nothing to prejudice the Church's cause. That at the time when I heard that the basilica was occupied by soldiers, I only gave freer utterance to groans, and that when many were exhorting me to go thither, I said I cannot surrender the basilica but I may not fight. But after I heard that the royal hangings had been taken away, when the people were urging me to go thither, I sent some priests; that I would not go myself, but said, I believe in Christ, that the Emperor himself will treat with us.

23 If these acts look like tyranny, I have arms, but only in the Name of Christ, I have the power of offering my own body. Why, I said, did he delay to strike, if he thought me a tyrant? That by ancient right imperial power had been given by priests, but never assumed, and it was commonly said that emperors had desired the priesthood, rather than priests the imperial power. Christ withdrew lest he should be made king. We have our own power; for the power of a bishop was his weakness. *When I am weak, says the Apostle, then I become strong.*³ But let him against whom God has not stirred up an adversary beware lest he make a tyrant for himself. Maximus did not say that I was the tyrant of Valentinian when he complained that by the intervention of my legation he had been able to cross over into Italy. And I added that priests had never been tyrants, but had often suffered from them.

24 We passed that whole day in sadness, but the imperial hangings were cut by boys in derision. I could not return home, because the soldiers who were guarding the basilica were all around. We repeated psalms with the brethren in the smaller basilica of the church.

25 [Next day the Book of Jonah was read, in which it is prophesied that sinners will turn to repentance.]

26 And without further delay, it was reported that the Emperor had commanded the soldiers to retire from the basilica, and that the sums

¹ Ps. 30(29).9

² Ps. 30.11(29.12)

³ 2 Cor. 12.10

which had been exacted of the merchants should be restored. How great then was the joy of the whole people! how just their applause! and how abundant their thanks! And it was the day on which the Lord was delivered up for us, on which penance is relaxed in the Church. The soldiers vied with each other in bringing in these tidings, rushing up to the altars, giving kisses, the mark of peace. Then I recognized that God had smitten the early worm¹ that the whole city might be preserved.

27 These things were done, and would that all was at an end! but the Emperor's words, full of excitement, foreshadowed future and worse troubles. I am called a tyrant, and even more than a tyrant. For when the Counts were entreating the Emperor to go to the church, and said that they were doing this at the request of the soldiers, he answered: If Ambrose bade you, you would deliver me up to him in chains. You can think what may be coming after these words. All shuddered when they heard them, but he has some who stir him up.

28 Lastly, too, Calligonus, the chief chamberlain, ventured to address me with particular venom. Do you, said he, while I am alive treat Valentinian with contempt? I will have your head. My reply was, God grant you to fulfil your threat; for then I shall suffer as becomes a bishop, you will act as eunuchs do. Would that God might turn them away from the church, let them direct all their weapons against me, let them satisfy their thirst with my blood! (NPNF, altered.)

In the account given by Ambrose, three churches are in question, the Portian, the new, and the old. It is not always clear to which he is referring.

3. *the Prefect*: i.e. the Praetorian Prefect, who had become a civil officer.

the Portian basilica: outside the walls: a request had been made for this some time previously.

4. *putting up hangings*: to mark the building (i.e. the Portian basilica) as imperial property.

to celebrate mass (missam facere): this is the earliest extant use of *missa*.

5. *his blood (nec huius sanguis)*: v.l. *ne cuius sanguis* making the statement a general one, not referring to Castulus alone.

8. *came to me*: in the old basilica, as is evident from 10 below.

since everything was under his power: cf. sect. 19 below it is asserted that *everything is lawful for the Emperor, that all things are his*. This was the crux of the matter, and the point of view here expressed was reasonable, from the imperial standpoint.

19. Ambrose is referring to his encounter with the emissaries of the court of the previous day, sect. 8 above.

23. *my legation*: i.e. the first legation in the winter of 383-4.

On Maximus' complaint, see Homes Dudden, *St Ambrose*, I, pp. 223-4.

26. *the Emperor had commanded, etc.*: i.e. the Court had made a complete surrender, in the face of the opposition of the bishop, people, and army.

was delivered up for us: i.e. Thursday in Easter week, on which penitents were reunited to the Church.

¹ Cf. Jonah 4.7

98 The Struggle between Ambrose and the Court at Milan: Round Two, 386

Cod. Theod. XVI.1.4; Ambrose, *Ep.* XXI.15–18

In the spring of 386 the Arians, reinforced by the arrival in Milan of Auxentius, formerly bishop of Durostorum (cf. 61 above), attempted to force Ambrose out of Milan by the following edict of 23 January 386.

Cod. Theod. XVI.1.4

We bestow the right of assembly upon those persons who believe, according to the doctrines which in the times of Constantius of sainted memory were decreed as those that would endure forever, when the priests had been called together from all the Roman world and faith was set forth at the council of Ariminum by these very persons who are now known to dissent, a faith which was also confirmed by the council of Constantinople. The right of voluntary assembly shall also be open to those persons for whom We have so ordered. If those persons who suppose that the right of assembly has been granted to them alone should attempt to provoke any agitation against the regulation of Our Tranquillity, they shall know that, as authors of sedition and as disturbers of the peace of the Church, they shall also pay the penalty of high treason with their life and blood. Punishment shall no less await those persons who may attempt to supplicate Us surreptitiously and secretly, contrary to this Our regulation. (Pharr, p. 440.)

The council of Ariminum, AD 359, cf 32 above.

The council of Constantinople: AD 360.

to them alone: i.e. to the Catholics, as against supporters of the Creed of the council of Ariminum.

The reply of Ambrose is contained in *Ep.* XXI and in his *Sermo contra Auxentium*.

The Court had decided that Ambrose and Auxentius should choose judges before whom the matter could be tried (*Ep.* XXI.1). Ambrose, however, refused to go to the consistory on the ground that only bishops could judge of matters of faith, and that Valentinian was abrogating a declaration on this point made by his father Valentinian I (cf. Sozomen, *HE*, VI.7.1–2).

Ambrose, *Ep.* XXI.15–18

If anything has to be discussed I have learnt to discuss it in church as those before me did. If a conference is to be held concerning the faith, there ought to be a gathering of bishops, as was done under Constantine, the Prince of august memory, who did not promulgate any laws beforehand, but left the decision to the bishops. This was done also under Constantius, Emperor of august memory, the heir of his father's dignity. But what began well ended otherwise, for the bishops had at first subscribed an unadulterated confession of faith,

but since some were desirous of deciding concerning the faith inside the palace, they managed that those decisions of the bishops should be altered by fraud. But they immediately recalled this perverted decision, and certainly the larger number at Ariminum approved the faith of the Nicene council and condemned the Arian propositions.

16 If Auxentius appeals to a synod, in order to discuss points concerning the faith (although it is not necessary that so many bishops should be troubled for the sake of one man, who, even if he were an angel from heaven,¹ ought not to be preferred to the peace of the Church), when I hear that a synod is gathering, I, too, will not be wanting. Repeal, then, the law if you wish for a disputation.

17 I would have come, O Emperor, to the consistory of your Clemency, and have made these remarks in your presence, if either the bishops or the people had allowed me, but they said that matters concerning the faith ought to be treated in the church, in presence of the people.

18 And I wish, O Emperor, that you had not given sentence that I should go into banishment whither I would. I went out daily. No one guarded me. You ought to have appointed me a place wherever you would, for I offered myself for anything. But now the bishops say to me, 'There is not much difference whether you voluntarily leave the altar of Christ or betray it, for if you leave it you *will* betray it.' (NPNF, altered.)

16. *for the sake of one man*: cf. 96 above.

18. *that I should go into banishment*: Ambrose may have been given an *either/or* alternative when he was asked to choose judges. But the Court shrank from extreme measures.

I went out daily: cf. *Sermo contra Auxentium*, 15: 'Did I not myself go forth daily to pay visits, or to go to the tombs of the martyrs? Did I not pass by the royal palace both in going and returning. Yet no one laid hands on me, though they had the intention of driving me out as they later showed, saying, "Leave the city, and go where you will".' (NPNF, altered.)

99 The Discovery of the Relics of ss Protasius and Gervasius, 386

Ambrose, *Ep.* XXII.1-2,7

This letter is addressed to Marcellina, sister of Ambrose.

1 As I do not wish anything which takes place here in your absence to escape the knowledge of your Holiness, you must know that we have found some bodies of holy martyrs. For after I had dedicated the basilica, many, as it were, with one mouth began to address me, and

¹ Gal. 1.8

said: 'Consecrate this as you did the Roman basilica.' And I answered: 'Certainly I will if I find any relics of martyrs.' And at once a kind of prophetic ardour seemed to enter my heart.

² Why should I use many words? God granted us grace; notwithstanding the scruples of even the clergy I ordered the earth to be excavated from the spot before the screen surrounding the grave of St Felix and St Nabor. I found the fitting signs, and on bringing in some on whom hands were to be laid, the power of the holy martyrs became so manifest, that even whilst I was still silent, one was seized and thrown prostrate at the holy burial-place. We found two men of marvellous stature, such as those of ancient days. All the bones were perfect, and there was much blood. During the whole of those two days there was an enormous concourse of people. Need I say much more? We arranged the whole in order and as evening was now coming on transferred them to the basilica of Fausta, where vigil was kept during the night, and some received the laying on of hands. On the following day we translated the relics to the basilica called Ambrosian. During the translation a blind man was healed.

^{3ff} [A sermon preached by Ambrose follows. In particular in sect. 7 commenting on Ps. 113. 5–8 he says:] Whom are we to esteem as the princes of the people but the holy martyrs? Amongst their number Protasius and Gervasius, long unknown, are now enrolled, who have caused the Church of Milan, barren of martyrs hitherto, now as the mother of many children, to rejoice in the distinctions and instances of her own sufferings. (NPNF, altered.)

The event narrated above is really another round in the struggle with the Arians, in which Ambrose passed over to the offensive.

1. *the basilica*: where the church of Sant' Ambrogio now stands, in the crypt of which rest Ambrose, flanked by Gervasius and Protasius, and his brother Satyrus.

the Roman basilica: i.e. near the Porta Romana of the city, now San Nazaro Grande. It was then called the basilica of the Apostles (Paulinus, *Vita* 32), 'where relics of St Peter and St Paul had recently been deposited with great and universal devotion' (ibid. 33).

a kind of prophetic ardour: cf. Augustine, *CD*, XXII.8, *Confess.* IX.7, who speaks of Ambrose having a dream or vision.

2. *Felix and Nabor*: martyrs in the persecution of Diocletian.

fitting signs: what these were is uncertain.

such as those of ancient days: cf. Herodotus, I.68 (Orestes); cf. also Plutarch, *Cimon*, 8.6 for the transference of the bones of Theseus from Scyros to Athens.

the basilica of Fausta: at the end of the south aisle of Sant' Ambrogio, now San Vittore in Ciel d'Oro.

7. *Protasius and Gervasius*: supposed to have been martyrs in the persecution of Nero, sons of Vitalis, who was himself supposed to have been a martyr at Ravenna.

Ambrose regards their authenticity as proved, against the Arians who ridiculed the whole business, by the cures effected by them (*ibid.* 23): 'Their holy sufferings are proved by the benefits they confer. These have persons to judge of them, namely, those that are cleansed, and witnesses, namely, those that are set free.' (NPNF). The skeletons may have been those of palaeolithic men, the bones being covered with red ochre before burial.

It is interesting to note that in the same year, 26 February 386, the following edict was issued at Constantinople (*Cod. Theod.* IX.17.7): 'No person shall transfer a buried body to another place. No person shall sell the relics of a martyr; no person shall traffic in them. But if any one of the saints has been buried in any place whatever, persons shall have it in their power to add whatever building they may wish in veneration of such a place (*or* of the saint), and such a building must be called a *martyrium*.' (Pharr, p. 240, slightly altered.)

100 Hymns and Psalms at Milan, 386

Augustine, *Confessions*, IX.7.15

During the 'siege' of the new basilica, Ambrose kept up the spirits of his flock by the singing of psalms and hymns, the latter being written by himself. Of the numerous hymns ascribed to Ambrose, four, on the testimony of Augustine, are certainly his (*Aeterne rerum conditor, Deus creator omnium, Iam surgit hora tertia, Veni, redemptor gentium*).

Not long had the Church of Milan begun to use this kind of consolation and exhortation, the brethren fervently joining with harmony of voice and hearts. For it was a year, or not much more, that Justina, mother of the young Emperor Valentinian, persecuted thy servant Ambrose in favour of her heresy, to which she was seduced by the Arians. The devout people kept watch in the church, ready to die with their bishop thy servant. There my mother, thy handmaid, bearing a chief part of those anxieties and watchings, lived for prayer. We, yet unwarmed by the heat of thy Spirit, still were stirred up by the sight of the amazed and disquieted city. Then it was first insinuated that after the manner of the Eastern Churches hymns and psalms should be sung, lest the people should wax faint through the tediousness of sorrow: and from that day to this the custom is retained; and many or rather almost all thy congregations, throughout other parts of the world, follow it. (LF, altered.)

Augustine has just been relating how the hymns of Ambrose influenced him, from his baptism onwards.

On the events recorded above, cf. Paulinus, *Life of Ambrose*, 13, and for singing at Constantinople in the time of John Chrysostom, cf. Socrates, *HE*, VI.8.

101 Ambrose and Theodosius I: the Affair of Callinicum, 388

Ambrose, *Ep.* XL.6–7, 10–11, 16; *Ep.* XLI.25–8

Ep. XL was written by Ambrose to Theodosius from Aquileia; *Ep.* XLI was addressed to his sister Marcellina and contains a summary of a sermon preached by Ambrose before the Emperor at Milan.

From *Ep.* XL

- 6 A report was made by the military Count of the East that a synagogue had been burnt, and that this was done at the instigation of the bishop. You gave command that the others should be punished, and the synagogue be rebuilt by the bishop himself. I do not urge that the bishop's account ought to have been waited for, for priests are the calmers of disturbances, and anxious for peace, except when even they are moved by some offence against God, or insult to the Church. Let us suppose that the bishop was too eager in the matter of burning the synagogue, and too timid at the judgement-seat, are not you afraid, O Emperor, lest he comply with your sentence, lest he fail in his faith?
- 7 Are you not also afraid, lest, which will happen, he oppose your Count with a refusal? He will then be obliged to make him either an apostate or a martyr, either of these alien to the times, either of them equivalent to persecution, if he be compelled either to apostatize or to undergo martyrdom. You see in what direction the issue of the matter inclines. If you think the bishop firm, guard against making a martyr of a firm man; if you think him vacillating, avoid causing the fall of one who is frail. For he has a heavy responsibility who has caused the weak to fall.
- 10 Shall, then, a place be made for the unbelief of the Jews out of the spoils of the Church, and shall the patrimony, which by the favour of Christ has been gained for Christians, be transferred to the treasuries of unbelievers? We read that of old temples were built for idols of the plunder taken from the Cimbri, and the spoils of other enemies. Shall the Jews write this inscription on the front of their synagogue: 'The temple of impiety, erected from the plunder of Christians'?
- 11 But, perhaps, the cause of discipline moves you, O Emperor. Which, then, is of greater importance, the show of discipline or the cause of religion? It is needful that judgement should yield to religion.
- 16 Shall, then, the burning of the temple of the Valentinians be also avenged? But what is but a temple in which is a gathering of heathen? Although the heathen invoke twelve gods, the Valentinians worship thirty-two aeons whom they call gods. And I have found out concerning these also that it is reported and ordered that some monks should be punished, who, when the Valentinians were stopping the road on which, according to custom and ancient use they were singing

psalms as they went to celebrate the festival of the Maccabees, enraged by their insolence, burnt their hurriedly-built temple in some country village. (NPNF, altered.)

Callinicum is a town on the Euphrates.

6. *a synagogue*: in sect. 23 of *Ep. XL* Ambrose points out that under Maximus a synagogue had been burnt at Rome. The facts of the present case are simply stated in *Ep. XVI.1*.

16. *the Valentinians*: these heretics were a survival from the second century (cf. *NER* 62).

thirty-two aeons: thirty in Irenaeus.

the festival of the Maccabees: 1 August.

From *Ep. XLI*

'The beginning of the sermon was dull enough. Basing his remarks on the lessons that had been read, the preacher rambled on disjointedly and painfully for several minutes' (Homes Dudden, *St Ambrose*, II, pp. 376-7.) But then he turned and applied the story of Nathan and David (2 Sam. 12.7ff) to Theodosius himself.

- 25 And what was his expostulation by Nathan the prophet to King David himself, that pious and gentle man? I, he said, chose thee the youngest of thy brethren, I filled thee with the spirit of meekness, I anointed thee king by the hand of Samuel, in whom I and my name dwelt. Having removed that former king, whom an evil spirit stirred up to persecute the priests of the Lord, I made thee triumph after exile. I set upon thy throne of thy seed one not more an heir than a colleague. I made even strangers subject to thee, that they who attacked might serve thee, and wilt thou deliver my servants into the power of my enemies, and wilt thou take away that which was my servant's, whereby both myself wilt be branded with sin, and my adversaries will have whereof to rejoice.
- 26 Wherefore, Sir, that I may now address my words not only about you, but to you, since you observe how severely the Lord is wont to censure, see that the more glorious you are become, the more utterly you submit to your Maker. For it is written: *When the Lord thy God shall have brought thee into a strange land, and thou shalt eat the fruits of others, say not, My power and my righteousness hath given me this, for the Lord thy God hath given it to thee;*¹ for Christ in his mercy hath conferred it on thee, and therefore, in love for his body, that is, the Church, give water for his feet, kiss his feet, so that you may not only pardon those who have been taken in sin, but also by your peaceableness restore them to concord, and give them rest. Pour ointment upon his feet that the whole house in which Christ sits may rejoice in thy fragrance, that is, honour the lowest, so that the angels may rejoice in their forgiveness,

¹ Cf. Deut. 7.1, 8.17

as over one sinner that repenteth, the apostles may be glad, the prophets be filled with delight. For the eyes cannot say to the hand: *We have no need of thee, nor the head to the feet, Ye are not necessary to me.*¹ So, since all are necessary, guard the whole body of the Lord Jesus, that he also by his heavenly condescension may preserve your kingdom.

27 When I came down from the pulpit, he said to me: 'You preached about me.' I replied: 'I dealt with matters intended for your benefit.' Then he said: 'I had indeed decided too harshly about the repairing of the synagogue by the bishop, but that has been rectified. The monks commit many crimes.' Then Timasius the general began to be over-vehement against the monks, and I answered him: 'With the Emperor I deal as is fitting, because I know that he has the fear of God, but with you, who speak so rudely, one must deal otherwise.'

28 Then, after standing for some time, I said to the Emperor: 'Let me offer for you with a clear conscience, set my mind at ease.' As he continued sitting and nodded, but did not give an open promise, and I remained standing, he said that he would amend the edict. I went on at once to say that he must end the whole investigation, lest the Count should use the opportunity of the investigation to do any injury to the Christians. He promised that it should be so. I said to him, 'I act on your promise', and repeated, 'I act on your promise.' 'Act', he said, 'on my promise.' And so I went to the altar, whither I should not have gone unless he had given me a distinct promise. And indeed so great was the grace attending the offering, that I felt myself that that favour granted by the Emperor was very acceptable to our God, and that the divine presence was not wanting. And so everything was done as I wished. (NPNF, slightly altered from F. Homes Dudden, op. cit., II, p. 378.)

'Thus fanaticism triumphed' (Homes Dudden, op. cit., II, p. 378 and see his further remarks on pp. 378–9).

27. *the monks commit many crimes*: cf. 139 (1) below.

102 Ambrose and Theodosius I: The Massacre at Thessalonica, 390

Ambrose, *Ep.* LI.1–4,6–14,17

- 1 The memory of your old friendship is pleasant to me, and I gratefully call to mind the kindness which, in reply to my frequent intercessions, you have most graciously conferred on others. Whence it may be inferred that I did not from any ungrateful feeling avoid meeting you on your arrival, which I had always before earnestly desired. And I will now briefly explain why I acted as I did.

¹ 1 Cor. 12.21

2-3 [Ambrose points out the difficulty of his own position with regard to the Court. He was excluded from the Emperor's counsels but 'leakages' took place and he heard what was transpiring. A situation was reached when, as priest, he had to speak out.]

4 Listen, august Emperor. I cannot deny that you have a zeal for the faith; I do confess that you have the fear of God. But you have a natural vehemence, which, if soothed, you quickly turn to mercy; if anyone stirs it up, you rouse it so much more that you can scarcely restrain it. Would that if no one soothe it, at least no one may inflame it! To yourself I willingly entrust it, you restrain yourself, and overcome your natural vehemence by the love of piety.

6 A deed has been done in the city of the Thessalonians which has no parallel, and which I was not able to prevent happening; a deed which, indeed, I had before said would be most atrocious when I so often petitioned against it, and which you yourself show by revoking it too late you consider to be heinous, this I could not extenuate when done. When the news first reached me, a synod had met because of the arrival of the Gallic bishops. There was not one who did not lament it, not one who thought lightly of it; your being in fellowship with Ambrose was no excuse for your deed. Blame for what had been done would have been heaped more and more on me, had no one said that your reconciliation to our God was necessary.

7-10 [From Old Testament examples, particularly of David, Ambrose insists that repentance must follow sin.]

11 I have written this, not in order to confound you, but that the examples of these kings may stir you up to put away this sin from your kingdom, for you will do it away by humbling your soul before God. You are a man, and temptation has come upon you; conquer it. Sin is not done away but by tears and penitence. Neither angel can do it, nor archangel. The Lord himself, who alone can say 'I am with you' if we have sinned, does not forgive any but those who repent.

12 I urge, I beg, I exhort, I warn, for it is a grief to me, that you who were an example of unusual piety, who were conspicuous for clemency, who would not suffer single offenders to be put in peril, should not mourn that so many have perished. Though you have waged battle most successfully, though in other matters, too, you are worthy of praise, yet piety was ever the crown of your actions. The devil envied that which was your most excellent possession. Conquer him whilst you still possess that wherewith you may conquer. Do not add another sin to your sin by a course of action which has injured many.

13 I, indeed, though a debtor to your kindness in all other things, for which I cannot be ungrateful, that kindness which has surpassed that of many emperors, and has been equalled by one only; I, I say, have no cause for a charge of contumacy against you, but have cause for fear; I

dare not offer the sacrifice if you intend to be present. Is that which is not allowed after shedding the blood of one innocent person, allowed after shedding the blood of many? I do not think so.

- 14 [This letter is secret, for the Emperor alone. Ambrose tells Theodosius that he had been warned in a dream not to offer the sacrifice in Theodosius' presence.]
- 17 I follow you with my love, my affection, and my prayers. If you believe me, be guided by me; if, I say, you believe me, acknowledge what I say; if you believe me not, pardon that which I do, in that I set God before you. May you, august Emperor, with your holy offspring, enjoy perpetual peace with perfect happiness and prosperity. (NPNF, altered, with acknowledgements to Homes Dudden, *St Ambrose*, I, pp. 384–6.)

In the summer of 390 the populace at Thessalonica, enraged at the imprisonment of a favourite charioteer for immorality, rioted and killed Botheric, the military commander there. Theodosius was violently angry (sect. 4 above), and ordered a massacre of the populace. News of his intention leaked out, and Ambrose opposed the impending atrocity (sect. 6 above). Paulinus, *Life of Ambrose*, 24, states that Ambrose had been assured that the massacre would not be carried out, but that the Emperor's courtiers persuaded him otherwise. The Emperor sanctioned the deed and then countermanded his order, but too late: 6000 persons, lured to the circus by the prospect of games, were massacred.

13. *equalled by one only*: i.e. Gratian.

I dare not offer the sacrifice: Paulinus, *Life of Ambrose*, 24, says: 'When the Bishop learnt what had happened, he refused the Emperor admission to the cathedral, nor would he pronounce him fit to sit in the congregation or to receive the Sacraments until he had done public penance. When the Emperor remonstrated that David had committed adultery and murder, both together, his immediate reply was: "As you imitated him in his transgressions, imitate him in his amendment." The Emperor took these words so much to heart that he did not shrink even from public penance; and the effect of his making amends was to give the Bishop a second victory.' (F. R. Hoare, *The Western Fathers*, pp. 167–8, altered.) There we may leave the matter: the details are the subject of controversy; for them see Sozomen, *HE*, VII.25; Theodoret, *HE*, V.18; Rufinus, *HE*, II.18.

103 Church and Emperor: the Crux of the Matter

Ambrose, *Sermo contra Auxentium*, 35–6

- 35–6 If then, he was obedient (referring to Phil. 2.7, 8; Rom. 5.19), let them receive the rule of obedience: to which we cling, saying to those who

stir up ill-will against us on the Emperor's side: *We pay to Caesar what is Caesar's, and to God what is God's.*¹ Tribute is due to Caesar, we do not deny it. The Church belongs to God, therefore it ought not to be assigned to Caesar. For the temple of God cannot be Caesar's by right. (NPNF.)

Ambrose is reflecting the traditional Western viewpoint. See 24 above regarding Ossius (Hosius) a generation before.

104 Fritigil, Queen of the Marcomanni

Paulinus, *Life of Ambrose*, 36

During this period, again, Fritigil, Queen of the Marcomanni, heard of Ambrose's reputation from a certain Christian who happened to have come to her from Italy. She recognized that he was a servant of Christ and she became a believer and sent emissaries with gifts for the Church and a request that he (Ambrose) would himself write something to instruct her in the faith. He wrote her a remarkable letter in the form of a catechism, and in the same letter urged her to persuade her husband to remain at peace with the Romans.

On receiving this letter, the woman persuaded her husband to put himself and his people under the protection of the Romans, and she also came to Milan. But to her deep grief she failed, for all her haste, to find the holy Bishop, for he had departed this life. (F. R. Hoare, *The Western Fathers*, p. 176, altered.)

During this period: i.e. in the reign of Honorius.

Fritigil is known to us only from this chapter of Paulinus.
the Marcomanni inhabited what is now Czechoslovakia.

105 The Communion of Saints

Niceta of Remesiana, *De Symbolo*, 10, ed. A. E. Burn, pp. 48f.

After confessing the blessed Trinity, thou goest on to profess that thou believest in *the Holy Catholic Church*. What else is the Church than the congregation of all saints? From the beginning of the world, be it patriarchs, Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, prophets, apostles, martyrs, or all other just men, who have been, are, or shall be, are one Church because they are sanctified by one faith and life, sealed by one Spirit, made one body; of which body the head is held to be Christ, as indeed

¹ Matt. 22.21

it is written.¹ I go further. Even angels, virtues, and powers supernal are united in this one Church; for the Apostle teaches that *in Christ all things are reconciled, whether things on earth or things in heaven.*² So in this one Church thou believest that thou art to attain *the Communion of Saints*. Thou must know that this one Church is ordered throughout the whole world and to its communion thou oughtest firmly to adhere. There are, indeed, other pseudo-churches, but thou hast nothing in common with them; as, for instance, churches of Manichaeans, Montanists, Marcionites, and other heretics or schismatics. For they have ceased to be holy Churches, inasmuch as they have been deceived by doctrines of demons, and both believe and do otherwise than is required by the commands of Christ the Lord and the traditions of the Apostles. (Kidd, *Documents*, II, p. 93.)

Niceta (fl. 380–405) was a contemporary and correspondent of Ambrose and a friend of Paulinus of Nola. The document illustrates Western homiletic preaching at this time.

106 The Creed of Aquileia, c. 390

From Rufinus, *Commentarius in Symbolum Apostolorum*: text in J. N. D. Kelly, *Rufinus, A Commentary on the Apostles' Creed*, p. 15; in Lietzmann, *Symbols*, p. 9; in Morison, *Rufinus in Symbolum Apostolorum*, p. XIX

I believe in God the Father almighty, invisible and impassible; And in Christ Jesus, his only Son, our Lord, who was born by the Holy Spirit from the Virgin Mary, crucified under Pontius Pilate and buried, he descended to hell, on the third day he rose again from the dead, he ascended to heaven, he sits at the Father's right hand, thence he will come to judge living and dead; And in the Holy Spirit, the Holy Church, the remission of sins, the resurrection of this flesh. (Kelly, *op. cit.*, p. 15.)

invisible and impassible: Rufinus points out (*op. cit.* 5) that these words were absent from the Roman creed, cf., for example, 5 above, and that they were added at Aquileia because of Sabellianism; they could also appear in a creed of Semi-Arian provenance, that of Auxentius of Milan (Hilary, *Contra Auxentium*, 14).

he descended to hell: first found in the 'Dated' Creed of 359 (32 above).

of this flesh: 'Possibly it (i.e. the inclusion of *this*) is a relic of some early struggle of the Aquileian Church with Docetic Gnosticism' (Morison, *op. cit.*, p. 92); cf. also Rufinus, *Apology*, I.5.

¹ Eph. 1.22; 5.23; Col. 1.18 ² Col. 1.20

12 *The Roman See under Damasus and Siricius, 378–99*

107 Petition of a Roman Council to the Emperors Gratian and Valentinian II, c. 378

Text in *PL*, XIII.75ff

The synod, assembled at the sublime sanctuary of the Apostolic See (*ad sublime Sedis Apostolicae Sacrarium*) asked for two things, (a) that an earlier enactment (? of Valentinian I) should be used effectively: this edict had given the Bishop of Rome jurisdiction over the bishops (? in the West (see the passage translated below)). But the West was littered with recalcitrant bishops and clergy. (b) that the Bishop of Rome should not be subject to trial in a secular court.

- 9 Inasmuch then as, at the bar of your Serenity, the innocence of our brother Damasus aforesaid has been established and his uprightness declared, while Isaac in his turn, since he could not prove his charges, has had sentence passed upon him in accordance with his deserts: now, therefore, lest in repeated cases we be further burdensome to you, we request of your Clemency that your Piety would vouchsafe to ordain that if any (bishop) shall have been condemned by the judgement whether of Damasus or of ourselves, who are Catholics, and shall unjustly wish to retain possession of his church, and, on being summoned by a synod of bishops shall contumaciously refuse to attend, that he be brought to Rome, whether by the Illustrious Praetorian Prefects of your Italy or by the Vicar (i.e. the Sub-Prefect of Rome): or, if a question of the kind arise in more distant regions, that its examination be committed by the local authorities to the metropolitan; provided that, if the metropolitan himself be the offender, he should be compelled to go at once either to Rome or to such judges as the Bishop of Rome may appoint, so that those who have been deposed be kept away from the confines of the city where they exercised their episcopal office, lest they should again shamelessly seize upon the authority rightly taken away from them. If there should be suspicion of any favour or misdoing on the part of the metropolitan or any other bishop, then let the condemned bishop have the right to appeal either to the Bishop of Rome or to a synod of at any rate fifteen neighbouring bishops. (Kidd, *Documents*, II, pp. 86–7, slightly altered.) Whoever is sentenced to exclusion, let him keep quiet and submit. And if he does not respect the judgement of God, then let him be coerced, so that under compulsion he sin less, that we may live in peace and

concord with due thankfulness to our Lord for your Serenity.

10 Our brother Damasus already mentioned, whose case furnishes proof of your judgement, should not be put in a position inferior to those to whom he is officially equal, but whom he excels in the prerogative of his Apostolic See and who are subject to the public courts from which your edict has removed him, our priestly head. After your decision in his case, he did not refuse your judgement, but seeks to keep the honour you conferred upon him. For in the realm of civil laws, what life can be better protected than that which depends upon the judgement of your Clemency? In any matter also affecting the exalted person of a bishop, provision should be made by strict ecclesiastical ordinances that not names only but characters should be taken into consideration and a scandalmonger who endeavours to asperse the said person should be prevented from injuring one whose bulwark is his innocence. Let the troubles of its ministers be regarded as an injury to religion.

Hear then this request, which the holy Damasus desires to refer to your Piety rather than to execute himself and which is intended not to disparage anyone but to confer upon the Emperors what is in idea nothing new and accords with the example of the ancients, namely, that a Roman bishop, if his case is not within the competence of an assembly of his fellow-bishops, may defend himself before the court of the Emperor. Bishop Silvester, when accused by sacrilegious men, carried his case to your predecessor Constantine. Similar instances are mentioned in the Scriptures. When the holy apostle was imprisoned by a servant, he appealed unto Caesar and was sent to Caesar.¹ Your Majesty should look into the case in advance and if there is any doubt, determine what points need investigation, that the judge may be required to follow the procedure you have deemed best and not allowed to act according to his arbitrary will . . . (J. T. Shotwell and L. R. Loomis, *The See of Peter*, pp. 670–1, altered.)

[This will stop the accusations of calumniators: holy Scripture (1 Tim. 5, 19) enjoins that accusations should not be lightly received: no pity should be shown to such accusers, though the use of torture is deprecated.]

Apostolic See: it is in the time of Damasus that this phrase first appears, as a designation of the Roman See, cf. Batiffol, *Le Siège apostolique*, p. 39, n.2 and 109 below. Damasus was elected Pope in 366, but owing to the disorders that accompanied his election (56 above) and the resulting charges and counter-charges, was not effectively in control of his see until c. 376.

9. *Isaac*: a converted Jew, who returned to Judaism. He had been suborned, by the party of Ursinus (cf. 56 above), to accuse Damasus of murder, a charge that could well be made. Gratian exiled Isaac to Spain.

¹ Acts 25.11

Bishop Silvester. what this accusation was we do not know, but perhaps it may be connected with the early stages of the Donatist controversy.

the Illustrious Praetorian Prefects . . . more distant regions: it is doubtful whether the council visualizes such cases as coming from beyond Italy, but cf. Gratian's reply in 108 below.

108 Gratian's Reply

Rescript to Aquilinus, Vicar (i.e. Sub-Prefect) of Rome: 6-7 (or 11-14); text in *PL*, XIII.586-8, in *Collectio Avellana*, 13. 11-14 (CSEL, XXXV.i, pp. 57-8)

- 6 We will that whosoever has been condemned by the judgement of
 (11) Damasus which he had given with the advice of five or seven bishops, or who had been condemned by the judgement or advice of those bishops who are Catholics, if he unjustly desire to retain his church, as one who, summoned to the judgement of the bishops, had through contumacy not gone, should either by the Illustrious Praetorian Prefects of Gaul and of Italy be remitted to the episcopal judgement, or, summoned by the Proconsuls or Vicars, come under prosecution at
 (12) the city of Rome; or, if the insubordination of any such case should arise in the more distant parts, let the whole pleading of the cause be submitted to the consideration of the metropolitan of the province to which the bishop belongs, or if he himself is a metropolitan, let the cause be necessarily taken without delay to Rome, or to those judges whom the Roman bishop shall appoint, provided always, that, if any be deposed, they be kept away only from the confines of the city in which they were bishops. For, in the case of those who have seriously offended, our restraints are less, and in dealing with sacrilegious persistency our punishments are more lenient, than the offender
 (13) deserves. But, if the condemned bishop should suspect from any cause of misdoing or favour on the part of his metropolitan or other episcopal judge, it shall be lawful for him to appeal to the Bishop of Rome, or to a synod of fifteen of the neighbouring bishops. (Kidd, *Documents*, II, pp. 92-3, slightly altered.)
- 7 We desire also that the principle which natural justice has implanted in
 (14) our minds in the conduct even of minor business and the hearing of trivial cases should be applied much more thoroughly in cases of gravity, so that it may not be easy for a miscreant, notorious for depravity, to assume by foul slanders the role of plaintiff against a person of distinction or to offer testimony as witness in the accusation of a bishop. (J. T. Shotwell and L. R. Loomis, *The See of Peter*, p. 672, altered.)

Gratian allowed the first request, but in answering the second ‘he slides off into edifying generalities on the natural sense of justice enjoyed by Emperors’. (Jalland, *The Church and the Papacy*, p. 246.)

6. *the Illustrious Praetorian Prefects, etc.*: the magistrates designated here appear to cover the whole Western Empire, and thus Gratian gave more than his petitioners asked.

109 The Decretal of Siricius, Bishop of Rome, to Himerius of Tarragona, 11 February 385

Siricius, *Ep.* i; text in *PL*, XIII.1131–47

This long letter, dealing with various problems referred by Himerius to Damasus, shortly before the latter’s death, is often regarded as the first of the papal *Decretals* (*epistolae decretales*). ‘The decretal is in effect a papal adaptation of the imperial rescript, i.e. an authoritative answer to an inquiry which becomes a legal precedent and so a general law. Yet Siricius himself appears to be unconscious of any change, and appeals to the ‘general decrees’ of his predecessor Liberius.’ (Jalland, *The Church and the Papacy*, p. 268, n.3.)

The whole document is translated in Shotwell and Loomis, *The See of Peter*, Appendix I.

1 For in view of our office we have no right to dissemble and none to keep silence, since it is our duty more than anyone’s to be zealous for the Christian faith. We bear the burden of all who are heavy laden; nay, rather, the blessed apostle Peter bears them in us and protects and watches over us, his heirs, as we trust, in all the care of his ministry.

2 [Prohibition of rebaptism.]

3 Next, you mention the reprehensible confusion, demanding correction, that exists among your candidates, who are baptized just as each one pleases. Our fellow priests—we say this with indignation—are presuming to act in this way not on the ground of any authority but solely out of carelessness. Uncounted multitudes, you state, everywhere and freely, at the season of Christ’s Nativity and Epiphany and also on the festivals of the apostles and martyrs, receive the mystery of baptism, although both with us and with all the Churches this privilege is confined particularly to the Lord’s days of Easter and of Pentecost.

[These are the seasons at which baptism is to be in general administered, except in the case of infants and of persons in any extremity.]

Now let all your priests observe the rule here given, unless they wish to be plucked from the solid, apostolic rock upon which Christ built the universal Church.

- 4 [No reconciliation for apostates except at the hour of death.]
- 5 [A man may not take in wedlock a girl betrothed to another.]
- 6 [Reconciled penitents who have again lapsed into sin are not to receive communion except at the hour of death.]
- 7 [In the case of incontinent monks and nuns] we direct you to expel these shameless and abominable persons from the company of the monasteries and the congregations of the churches, that they may be thrown into the jails and mourn their terrible crime with constant lamentation and burn with the purifying fire of repentance, so that mercy may help them, at least in death, out of pure compassion, with the grace of communion.
- 8,9,10 [Siricius deplotes the clerical immorality disclosed in Himerius' letter, and lays down that, notwithstanding possible precedents in the Old Testament, absolute celibacy is to be the rule for Christian clergy.]
- 11 Inasmuch as some of the men of whom we speak protest sorrowfully, as your Holiness reports, that they fell in ignorance, we direct you not to refuse them mercy, on condition that they remain as long as they live, without any advancement in honour, in the office in which their guilt was detected, provided, however, that they undertake to live in continence hereafter. As for those who unwarrantably rely upon the excuse of the privilege which they maintain was granted them by the old law, let them understand that they are deposed by authority of the Apostolic See from every ecclesiastical position which they have abused and that never again may they handle the venerable mysteries, of which they deprived themselves by clinging to their obscene passions. And inasmuch as present warnings teach us to be on our guard in the future, if any bishop, priest or deacon is hereafter discovered in such crime, as we trust there will not be, let him now and at once understand that every way to leniency through us is barred, for wounds that do not heal by fomentation must be cut out by the knife.
- 12 [As laid down in Lev. 21.13,34; Ezek. 44.22; 1 Tim. 3.2, clergy must not have married more than once—while the attempts to gain clerical office by oft-married men (*quibus fuerint numerosa conugia*) are to be repelled, the metropolitan bishops in particular, who connive at such attempts, being still more to be blamed than the actual offenders.]
- 13,14 [There is to be, as it were, a *cursus honorum* in clerical promotion, adapted both to those who vow themselves to the Church from tender years, and to later vocations.]
- 15 [Clergy, who marry a second time are to be reduced to the status of laymen.]
- 16 [No women are to reside in the houses of the clergy, except for those sanctioned by the council of Nicaea (Canon 3, *NER* 290, p. 339).]
- 17 [The ordination of monks of high reputation is desirable. But they must abide by the *cursus honorum* laid down above (13).]
- 18 [No layman admitted to penance may afterwards be ordained.]

19 [But, prohibited persons who are already clergy are granted pardon, on condition that they receive no further promotion.]

But the chief bishops of all the provinces shall know henceforth that if they undertake again to raise any such person to the sacred ranks, a fitting sentence will needs be pronounced both on them and on those whom they promote contrary to the canons and to our prohibition.

20 We have, I think, dearest brother, disposed of all the questions which were contained in your letter of inquiry and have, I believe, returned adequate answers to each of the cases which you reported by our son, the priest Bassianus, to the Roman Church as to the head of your body. Now we do once and again urge you, brother, to bend your mind to observing the canons and keeping the decretals that have been ordained. Do you bring these decisions we are sending you to the knowledge of all our fellow bishops and not only of those who are stationed within your diocese. Send our salutary instructions to all the Carthaginians and Baeticians, Lusitanians and Gallicians also and to those who live in the provinces bordering yours on either side, with an accompanying letter from you. And whereas no priest of the Lord is free to be ignorant of the statutes of the Apostolic See and the venerable provisions of the canons, it may be even more expedient and a very glorious distinction for you, beloved, and for your ancient bishopric, if the general letter which I have written to you individually is brought to the attention of all our brothers through your earnest diligence. In this way the salutary ordinances we have made, not inadvisedly but prudently, with utmost care and deliberation, may continue unviolated, and all opportunity for excuses, which we can no longer admit from anyone, may be closed in the future. (J. T. Shotwell and L. R. Loomis, *The See of Peter*, pp. 699–708.)

1. In a later letter 'to the orthodox in divers provinces', Siricius says: 'And I, upon whom rests the care of all the Churches, if I dissemble, shall hear the Lord saying:' etc. (*Ep.* VI).

110 The Catacombs

Jerome, *Comm. in Ezechielem*, 40.5

When I was a boy at Rome and was being educated in liberal studies, I was accustomed, with others of like age and mind, to visit on Sundays the sepulchres of the apostles and martyrs. And often did I enter the crypts, deep dug in the earth, with their walls on either side lined with the bodies of the dead, where everything is so dark that it almost seems as if the psalmist's words were fulfilled, *Let them go down alive into hell.*¹

¹ Ps. 55.15

Here and there the light, not entering in through windows, but filtering down from above through shafts, relieves the horror of the darkness. But again, as one cautiously moves forward, the black night closes round, and there comes to the mind the line of Virgil,

Surrounding horrors all my soul affright;
And more, the dreadful silence of the night.¹

(Homes Dudden, *St Ambrose*, I, p. 53, slightly altered.)

In his *Commentary on Galatians* II, Praef., Jerome speaks of the frequency with which the tombs of the martyrs were visited at Rome, cf. also Prudentius, *Peristephanon*, XI.153ff for throngs of visitors to the tomb of Hippolytus. It was also at this period that Damasus was writing his numerous inscriptions in hexameters for the martyrs' tombs. Damasus inspired the search for these tombs.

III The Rebuilding of the Church of St Paul-outside-the-Walls at Rome, 386

- 1 Letter of Valentinian II, Theodosius I, and Arcadius to Sallustius, Prefect of Rome; text in *Collectio Avellana* iii (CSEL, XXXV i. pp. 46ff.)
- 1 As it is Our desire, in consideration of the venerable and sacred antiquity of the basilica of Paul the Apostle, to beautify it for the honour of religion, to enlarge it for the numbers there assembled, and to upraise it in accordance with Our pious zeal, now, therefore, We are greatly pleased by the dutifulness of your Sublimity which you devoted to looking into everything as the occasion demanded and, in well-considered and suitable language, to reporting to Our Serenity on the site as a whole and its general aspect. It was right that We should give such commands as have to be given with full knowledge of the circumstances.
- 2 Wherefore after taking counsel with the venerable bishop, and giving complete information to the honourable order of clergy and to the Christian laity, concerning our commands, your Sublimity must now go into the matter in greater detail and with full examination of the project. If the people and the senate agree to repair the old road, which passes behind the basilica and keeps close to the bank of the river Tiber, so that the present road may be included in the space required for the future work, prepare through architects a plan of the future basilica to suit the level space available for building, so that no unevenness of the ground obscure the imposing appearance of a larger

¹ Virgil, *Aen.* 2.755-6; tr. Pitt (1763)

edifice. In every great structure an attractive appearance produces the finest effect and our plan aims at the essential preservation of this from the moment that the building first catches the eye.

- 3 Next, the business demands that a schedule be presented after careful inquiry into the work to be done, and that a more detailed estimate of the cost, according to the prices of materials in Our Imperial City, be prepared and submitted to Our Clemency with all due expedition; so that the assent of Our Serenity may confirm the common plan of all, and that the resolve of Our Pious intention may be the more easily accomplished as befits the deserts of so great a religion.

May the Divinity preserve thee for many years, most dear and well-beloved Cousin. (Kidd, *Documents*, II, pp. 127–8, much altered.)

A church was built by Constantine at the tomb of St Paul near the *Via Ostiensis*, where his 'trophy' had stood *c.* 200 (cf. *NER*, p. 5). It was a small building, and covered 'the space which to-day extends from the apse to the high altar' (Marucchi, *Eléments d'archéologie chrétienne*, III, p. 135). The church to which this passage refers remained intact till 1823, when it was ruined by fire. The reconstructed building, however, adhered closely to the plan of the original. Prudentius, *Peristephanon*, XII, 45–54, describes the church to which this passage refers.

2. *the present road*: 'During the excavations of 1850 the ancient road was found again, immediately behind the Constantinian apse' (E. Kirschbaum, *The Tombs of St Peter and St Paul*, p. 184).

a larger edifice: i.e. than the Constantinian church.

In every great structure: Kidd's translation has been altered, but the rendering above is offered with diffidence.

13 *The Establishment of Catholic Orthodoxy as the Religion of the Empire, 380–415*

A IMPERIAL LEGISLATION AND INITIATIVES

112 *An Edict on the Profession of the Catholic Faith, 380*

Cod. Theod., XVI.1.2

It is Our Will that all the peoples who are ruled by the administration of Our Clemency shall practise that religion which the divine Peter the Apostle transmitted to the Romans, as the religion which he introduced makes clear even unto this day. It is evident that this is the religion that is followed by the Pontiff Damasus and by Peter, bishop of Alexandria, a man of apostolic sanctity; that is, according to the apostolic discipline and the evangelic doctrine, we shall believe in the single Deity of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit, under the concept of equal majesty and of the Holy Trinity.

- 1 We command that those persons who follow this rule shall embrace the name of Catholic Christians. The rest, however, whom We adjudge demented and insane, shall sustain the infamy of heretical dogmas, their meeting places shall not receive the name of churches, and they shall be smitten first by divine vengeance and secondly by the retribution of Our own initiative, which We shall assume in accordance with divine judgement. (Pharr. p. 440.)

This edict was issued in the name of Gratian, Valentinian II, and Theodosius I to the people of Constantinople.

It should be noted that the bishops of Rome and Alexandria provide the norm of orthodoxy.

Theodosius had recently been baptized by Acholius of Thessalonica. See Sozomen, *HE*, VII.4.3.

When he arrived in Constantinople, however, the Emperor's assertion of Nicene orthodoxy made no mention of these bishops (*Cod. Theod.*, XVI.5.6 of 10 January 381).

113 Imperial Confirmation of a Papal Election, 24 February 385

From the rescript of Valentinian II., 383–†92, to Pinian, Vicar of the City (*Cod. Avell.*, iv.; *CSEL*, XXXV. i. 47 *sq.*).

- 1 To our well-beloved Pinian, greeting. That the people of the Eternal City should rejoice in harmony and elect so excellent a bishop, We perceive to be in accordance with the disposition of the Roman people, and we congratulate them on its having happened in our times.
- 2 Accordingly, inasmuch as they have not only expressed their wishes that the religious and holy Bishop Siricius should thus preside over the clergy, but by their acclamations have rejected Ursinus as a wrong-doer, let the aforesaid bishop, well-beloved and dearest Pinian, continue in office with our hearty approval. They have given signal proof of their integrity and uprightness when, by one and the same acclamation, they elected Siricius and rejected the rest. (Kidd, *Documents*, p. 100.)

114 The Effective Prohibition of Paganism, 391

Cod. Theod., XVI. 10. 10

No person shall pollute himself with sacrificial animals; no person shall slaughter an innocent victim; no person shall approach the shrines, shall wander through the temples, or revere the images formed by mortal labour, lest he become guilty by divine and human laws. Judges also shall be bound by the general rule that if any of them should be devoted to profane rites and should enter a temple for the purpose of worship anywhere, either on a journey or in the city, he shall immediately be compelled to pay fifteen pounds of gold, and his office staff shall pay a like sum with similar haste, unless they resist the judge and immediately report him by a public attestation. Governors and the rank of consular shall pay six pounds of gold each, their office staffs a like amount; those with the rank of *corrector* or of *praeses* shall pay four pounds each, and their apparitors, by equal lot, a like amount. (Pharr, p. 473.)

The edict is in the name of Valentinian II, Theodosius I, and Arcadius. But of these three Theodosius was the effective Emperor.

115 The Punishment of Heretics, 392

Cod. Theod., XVI.5.21

Addressed to Tatian, the Pretorian Prefect.

We decree that whosoever has remained in heretical errors, and either ordains clergy, or undertakes clerical office should be fined ten pounds of gold each, and the land moreover, on which the forbidden acts are being attempted should, if the connivance of the owner is evident, be added to the resources of our treasury.

[The rescript continues, that if the owner was in ignorance of what was going on because of secrecy, the tenant should be fined ten pounds of gold, if a free man, or if 'descended from servile dregs' and therefore on account of poverty despising the fine he should be scourged and then transported into exile (*deportatio*).]

We particularly wish to guard against a tenant or steward of a villa on imperial or public land giving permission for (heretical) assembly: if found guilty, he will be fined ten pounds of gold and this should be exacted and collected from each (offender). For we order that anyone proved to have aided such mysteries or usurped for himself the title of cleric should be fined ten pounds of gold and this should be exacted and collected from each (offender). (Tr. W. H. C. Frend.)

This very severe order was aimed particularly at heresies that were strong in the countryside and on the imperial estates. Donatism and Montanism were prime examples, though Donatism was not affected in practice until 405 (see 171–2 below).

Tatian was Pretorian Prefect of the East 388–92. Paradoxically he was a pagan.

The order is dated 15 June 392, and issued in the name of the same Augusti.

116 Sunday

1 AD 386

Cod. Theod., VIII.8.3.

On the Day of the Sun, which our ancestors rightly called the Lord's Day, the prosecution of all litigation, cases, and suits shall entirely cease. No person shall demand payment of either a public or a private debt. There shall be no cognizance of any contentions even before arbitrators, whether these arbitrators be demanded in court or voluntarily chosen. 1. If any person should turn aside from the inspiration and ritual of holy religion, he shall be adjudged not only infamous but also sacrilegious. (Pharr, p. 209.)

This edict, issued by Gratian, Valentinian II, and Theodosius I, reinforces

what had already been enacted by Constantine (*Cod. Theod.*, II.8.1 (NER 276)). In 368 Valentinian I and Valens prohibited Christians from being sued by tax collectors on Sunday (*Cod. Theod.*, VII.8.1; XI.7.10). Honorius and Theodosius II forbade Jews to be sued in court or to be compelled to do any public service on the Sabbath (*Cod. Theod.*, II.8.26).

2 AD 392

Cod. Theod., II.8.20

Contests in the circuses shall be prohibited on the festival Days of the Sun, except on the birthdays of Our Clemency, in order that no concourse of people to the spectacles may divert men from the reverend mysteries of the Christian law (Pharr, p. 44).

Issued by Valentinian II, Theodosius I, and Arcadius.

Arcadius and Honorius in 399 (*Cod. Theod.*, II.8.23) and in 405 (*ibid.* II.8.24) reinforced this prohibition.

117 No Immunities for Priests of the Mysteries, 7 December 396

Cod. Theod., XVI.10.14

If any privileges have been granted by ancient law to civil priests, ministers, prefects, or hierophants of the sacred mysteries, whether known by these names or called by any other, such privileges shall be completely abolished. Such persons shall not congratulate themselves that they are protected by any privilege, since their profession is known to be condemned by law. (Pharr, p. 474.)

Issued by Arcadius and Honorius. It was taken up by *Cod. Theod.*, XVI.10.19, and 20 of 408 and 415 where income in kind from taxes is transferred from the temples to the army, and the temples and their property are to be annexed to the State.

hierophants of the sacred mysteries: such as, for example, the Eleusinian mysteries.

118 Country Temples to be Destroyed, 10 July 399

Cod. Theod., XVI.10.16

If there should be any temples in the country districts, they shall be torn down without disturbance or tumult. For when they are torn down and removed, the material basis for all superstition will be destroyed (Pharr, p. 474).

temples in the country districts: cf. the complaints of Libanius some years previously, 139 (1) below.

Edicts about temples were not always consistent with one another; for example, in this same year, 399, there is one edict (*Cod. Theod.*, XVI.10.15) ordering 'that the ornaments of public works', i.e. temples, 'be preserved', and another (*ibid.* XVI.10.18) forbidding the destruction of temples 'empty of illicit things', but ordering the removal of idols; another (*ibid.* XVI.10.19) of 408 appropriates temples to public uses, cf. also *Const. Sirmond.* 12 of AD 407 (Pharr, pp. 482-3).

P. de Labriolle, in Fliche et Martin, *Histoire de l'Eglise*, IV, pp. 18ff, points out how varied was the application of the anti-pagan legislation, 'according to the zeal, indolence or complicity of the local authorities'.

119 Only Catholics to Serve in the Palace, 14 November 408

Cod. Theod., XVI.5.42

We prohibit those persons who are hostile to the Catholic sect to perform imperial service within the palace, so that no person who disagrees with Us in faith and in religion shall be associated with Us in any way (Pharr, p. 457).

Issued by Honorius and Theodosius II.

Zosimus says (*Hist. Nova*, V.46) that Honorius had to go back on this edict in order to keep the services of Generidus, one of his barbarian officers.

120 Pagans Barred from Military and Civil Service, 7 December 415

Cod. Theod., XVI.10.21

Those persons who are polluted by the profane false doctrine or crime of pagan rites, that is, the pagans, shall not be admitted to the imperial service, and they shall not be honoured with the rank of administrator or judge (Pharr, p. 476).

Issued by Honorius and Theodosius II.

121 Law-abiding Jews and Pagans Not to be Disturbed, 8 June 423

Cod. Theod., XIV.10.24

We punish with proscription of their goods and exile, Manichaeans and those persons who are called Pepyzitae. Likewise, those persons

who are worse than all other heretics in this one belief, namely that they disagree with all others as to the venerable day of Easter, shall be punished with the same penalty if they persist in the aforesaid madness.

But We especially command those persons who are truly Christians or who are said to be, that they shall not abuse the authority of religion and dare to lay violent hands on Jews and pagans who are living quietly and attempting nothing disorderly or contrary to law. For if such Christians should be violent against persons living in security or should plunder their goods, they shall be compelled to restore not only that property which they took away, but after suit they shall also be compelled to restore triple or quadruple that amount which they robbed. Also the governors of the provinces and their office staffs and the provincials shall know that if they permit such a crime to be committed, they too will be punished in the same way as the perpetrators of the crime. (Pharr, p. 476.)

Issued by Honorius and Theodosius II.

Manichaeans: cf. 55 above. They were the subject of many enactments in the Theodosian Code.

Pepyzitae: i.e. Montanists, from Pepuza in Phrygia, where the original Montanists believed that the new Jerusalem would descend.

those persons, etc.: Novatianists, Protapaschites, and Sabbatians (Pharr, loc. cit., n. 54). These had all become involved in Quartodeciman observances (as had the Montanists), cf. F. E. Vokes, *The Opposition to Montanism from Church and State in the Christian Empire* (*Studia Patristica*, Vol. IV.ii, p. 524).

It may be noted that non-Christians are treated more leniently than heretics are; this policy was that of Constantine, cf. Doerries, *Constantine the Great and Religious Liberty*, pp. 81–125.

B THE DESTRUCTION OF PAGAN TEMPLES

122 Theophilus Destroys the Serapeum at Alexandria, 391

Theodoret, *HE*, V.22.3–6

- 3 Moreover, he (Theophilus) went up into the temple of Serapis, which has been described by some as excelling in size and beauty all the temples in the world. There he saw a huge image of which the bulk struck beholders with terror, increased by a lying report which got abroad that if anyone approached it, there would be a great
- 4 earthquake, and that all the people would be destroyed. The bishop looked on all these tales as the mere drivelling of tipsy old women, and in utter derision of the lifeless monster's enormous size, he told a man who had an axe to give Serapis a good blow with it. No sooner had the man struck, than all the folk cried out, for they were afraid of the

threatened catastrophe. Serapis, however, who had received the blow, felt no pain, inasmuch as he was made of wood, and uttered never a
 5 word, since he was a lifeless block. His head was cut off, and forthwith
 out ran multitudes of mice, for the Egyptian god was a dwelling place
 6 for mice. Serapis was broken into small pieces of which some were
 committed to the flames, but his head was carried through all the town
 in sight of his worshippers, who mocked the weakness of him to whom
 they had bowed the knee. (NPNF.)

For other accounts see Socrates, *HE*, V.16–17; Sozomen, *HE*, VII.15.2–10; Rufinus, *HE*, XI.22–3; which show that this was an occasion of violent rioting and bloodshed at Alexandria. Rufinus, loc. cit., gives a description of the temple, which had already been attacked in the time of the Arian bishop George, c. 356–61.

Theophilus was a vigorous destroyer of temples. He had already ‘cleansed’ a Mithraeum (Socrates, loc. cit.), and turned a temple of Dionysus into a church (Sozomen, loc. cit.).

123 The Destruction of Temples: Murder of Marcellus, Bishop of Apamea

Sozomen, *HE*, VII.15.11–15

- 11 There were still pagans in various cities, who contended zealously in
 behalf of their temples . . .
- 12 I have been informed that the inhabitants of the last-named city
 (Apamea) often armed the men of Galilee and the villagers of Lebanon
 in defence of their temples; and that at last, they even carried their
 13 audacity to such a height as to kill Marcellus, bishop of the place. He
 had commanded the demolition of all the temples in the city and
 villages, thinking that it would not be easy otherwise for them to be
 converted from their former religion. Having heard that there was a
 very large temple at Aulon, a district of Apamea, he went there with
 14 some soldiers and gladiators. On his arrival he kept out of range of the
 arrows; for he had gout, and was unable to fight, or pursue, or to flee.
 While the soldiers and gladiators were engaged in the assault on the
 temple, some pagans, discovering that he was alone, hastened to the
 place where he was separated from the combat; they suddenly rushed
 15 forward, seized him, and burnt him alive. The perpetrators of this
 deed were not then known, but, in course of time they were detected,
 and the sons of Marcellus determined to avenge his death. The
 council of the province, however, prohibited them from doing so, and
 declared that it was not just that the relatives or friends of Marcellus
 should seek to avenge such a death, when they should rather return
 thanks to God for having accounted him worthy to die in such a cause.
 (NPNF, altered.)

This passage is quoted as an instance of the disturbances that sometimes attended the destruction of pagan buildings. For a longer account of such a happening see the earlier part of this chapter of Sozomen (*ibid.* 2-10), where the destruction of the Serapeum at Alexandria is related. For a list of temples destroyed see P. de Labriolle, in Fliche et Martin, *Histoire de l'Eglise*, IV, pp. 19-21.

12. *Apamea*: in Syria.

Marcellus: a notorious destroyer of temples, cf. Theodoret, *HE*, V.21.7ff, on the destruction of the temple of Jupiter at Apamea.

For the more successful methods of Bishop Porphyry of Gaza to destroy the temples in that city, c. 403-5, see Mark the Deacon, *Life of Porphyry of Gaza* (tr. G. F. Hill, Oxford, 1912).

C LEGISLATION CONCERNING THE JEWS

124 Marriages of Christians and Jews Prohibited, 388

Cod. Theod. III.7.2; IX 7.5

No Jew shall receive a Christian woman in marriage, nor shall a Christian contract a marriage with a Jewish woman. For if any person should commit an act of this kind, the crime of this misdeed shall be considered as the equivalent of adultery, and freedom to bring accusation shall be granted also to the voices of the public. (Pharr, p. 232.)

Issued by Valentinian II. Theodosius I, and Arcadius, cf. canon 16 of Elvira, shortly after AD 300. For Theodosius' policy towards the Jews, see N. Q. King, *The Emperor Theodosius and the Establishment of Christianity*, pp. 115-18.

125 Jewish Ownership of Christian Slaves, 415

Cod. Theod. XVI.9.3

Cod. Theod., XVI.9.1-5 deals with this subject. The edict quoted below is the one most favourable to the Jews.

We direct that Jewish masters without any fear of chicanery may have Christian slaves, on the sole condition that they permit such slaves to retain their own religion. Therefore, judges of the provinces shall carefully inspect the trustworthiness of the information that is lodged before them and shall know that they must repress the insolence of those persons who suppose that by means of timely supplications they may accuse the Jews. We decree that all rescripts that have been surreptitiously and fraudulently elicited or those so elicited hereafter shall be annulled. If any person should violate these regulations, he shall be punished as though guilty of sacrilege. (Pharr, pp. 471-2.)

Issued by Honorius and Theodosius II.

14 *Asceticism in the West: Martin of Tours and Priscillian*

126 Martin's Monastery, c. 370

Sulpicius Severus, *Vita Martini*, 10

1 What Martin was like, and his greatness, after he became bishop, is
beyond my powers to describe. For with unswerving constancy he
2 remained the same man as before. There was the same humble heart
and the same mean clothing; and, amply endowed with authority and
tact, he fully sustained the dignity of the episcopate without forsaking
the life or the virtues of the monk.

3 For a time he occupied a cell next to the church. Then, when he
could no longer endure the disturbance from his many visitors, he
4 made himself a hermitage about two miles from the city. The place was
so secluded and remote that it had all the solitude of the desert. On
one side it was walled in by the rock-face of a high mountain, and the
level ground that remained was enclosed by a gentle bend of the River
Loire. There was only one approach to it, and that a very narrow one.

His cell was built of wood, as were those of many of the brethren;
5 but most of them had hollowed out shelters for themselves in the rock
of the overhanging mountain. There were about eighty disciples there,
6 being trained in the pattern of their most blessed master. No one
possessed anything of his own; everything was put into the common
stock. The buying and selling which is customary with most monks was
forbidden them. No art was practised there except that of the copyist,
and that was assigned to the younger men. The older ones were left
free for prayer.

7 It was seldom that anyone left his cell except when they assembled at
the place of worship. All received their food together after the fast was
ended. No one touched wine unless ill-health forced him to do so.
Most of them wore clothes of camel's hair, softer clothing was looked
8 upon as an offence there. This must be regarded as all the more
wonderful because there were many among them of noble rank, who
had been brought up to something quite different before forcing
themselves to this lowliness and endurance. Many of them we have
9 since seen as bishops. For what kind of city or Church would it be that
did not covet a bishop from Martin's monastery? (Hoare, *The Western
Fathers*, pp. 23–5, altered.)

1. *after he became bishop*: i.e. in 372.

3. *about two miles from the city*: later called Marmoutier.

6. *buying and selling*: as happened in, for example, Egyptian monasteries,
where the monks sold mats or baskets which they made.

127 The Heresy of Priscillian, c. 378–85

Sulpicius Severus, *Chronica*, 46–47.6

46.1–2 [Only recently were the heretical doctrines of the Gnostics introduced into Spain, by an Egyptian named Marcus. His pupils included a woman of rank named Agape, and a *rhetor* named Elpidius.]

3 By these Priscillian was instructed, a man of noble birth, of great riches, and keen mind, restless, eloquent, learned through much reading, very ready in debate and discussion—in fact, altogether a lucky man, if he had not ruined an excellent intellect by debased
4 studies. Undoubtedly, there were to be seen in him many admirable qualities both of mind and body. He was able to spend much time in vigils, and to endure both hunger and thirst; he had little desire for
5 amassing wealth, and he was most economical in the use of it. But at the same time he was a very vain man, and was much more puffed up than he ought to have been with knowledge of earthly things; moreover, it was believed that he had practised magical arts from his youth. He, after having himself adopted the pernicious system referred to, drew into its acceptance many persons of noble rank and multitudes of common people by the arts of persuasion and flattery which he
6 possessed. Besides this, women who were fond of novelties and of unstable faith, and whose minds were prone to curiosity in all things, flocked to him in crowds. It increased this tendency that he exhibited a kind of humility in his countenance and manner, and thus excited in all
7 a greater honour and respect for himself. And now by degrees the wasting disorder of that heresy had pervaded most of Spain, and even some of the bishops came under its depraving influence. Among these, Instantius and Salvian had taken up the cause of Priscillian, not only by expressing their concurrence in his views, but even by binding
8 themselves to him with a kind of oath. This went on until Hyginus, bishop of Cordova, from his contiguous position, found out how matters stood, and reported the whole to Ydacius, bishop of Merida.
9 But he, by harassing Instantius and his confederates without measure, and beyond what the occasion called for, applied, as it were, a torch to the growing conflagration, so that he rather exasperated than suppressed these evil men.

47.1–3 [At the council of Saragossa, at which bishops from Aquitaine were present, the doctrines of the Priscillianists were condemned and measures taken against them, particularly by Ithacius, bishop of Sossuba: to this they replied by consecrating Priscillian bishop of Avila.]

4 This they did with the view of adding to their strength, doubtless imagining that, if they armed with episcopal authority a man of keen and subtle character, they would find themselves in a safer position.
5 But then Ydacius and Ithacius pressed forward their measures more

ardently, in the belief that the mischief might be suppressed at its beginning. With unwise councils, however, they applied to secular judges, that by their decrees and prosecutions the heretics might be expelled from the cities. Accordingly, after many disgraceful squabbles, a rescript was, on the entreaty of Ydacius, obtained from Gratian, who was then Emperor, in virtue of which all heretics were enjoined not only to leave Churches or cities, but to be driven forth beyond the Empire's boundaries. (NPNF, altered.)

magical arts: magic was associated with Gnosticism, cf., for example, Irenaeus, I. 7 (ANCL (I.13, Massuet)). It was also constantly in the minds of the Emperors as a maleficent power, cf., for example, *Cod. Theod.*, IX.16. 1-12 (extending from AD 319 to 409).

8. *Ydacius*: metropolitan of Lusitania.

Council of Saragossa: 4 October 380. Eight of its canons are directed against the Priscillianists, see Hefele-Leclercq, *Histoire des Conciles*, I.ii, pp. 986-7. Sulpicius says that certain individuals were condemned by name, but he is probably mistaken in this, cf. [Priscillian], *Tract.* ii, ed. G. Schepss (CSEL, XVIII), p. 35, where the condemnation of individuals is explicitly denied.

5. *Avila*: a small town in *Hispania Tarraconensis*.

6. *a rescript*: one of the accusations against the Priscillianists was that they were Manichees. This sect was already proscribed, see 55 above. This accusation is repudiated in [Priscillian], *Tract.* i, ed. G. Schepss, p. 22. See H. Chadwick, *Priscillian of Avila* (OUP 1976), ch. II.

128 The Execution of Priscillian and his Friends, 385

Sulpicius Severus, *Chronica*, 49.9-51.10

The tragic story of Priscillian is bedevilled with appeals from ecclesiastical to secular judges, and complicated by the political and religious conditions of the time. Proscribed by Gratian, rejected by Delphinus, bishop of Bordeaux, unsuccessful at Rome and Milan with appeals to Damasus and Ambrose, he and his friends were nevertheless successful in winning many adherents in Spain and Gaul, and in bribing Macedonius, Gratian's Master of the Offices, by whom they were restored. But the successful insurrection of Maximus changed all this. He was fanatically Catholic and opposed to all whom Gratian had favoured. He sanctioned a trial of Priscillian and Instantius at a synod at Bordeaux. The latter was condemned, and Priscillian, to escape condemnation, appealed unwisely to the Emperor at Trier.

In view of Gratian's *Rescript on the trial of Bishops* of AD 380 (108 above), Damasus ought to have heard Priscillian's case.

49.9 But Priscillian, in order that he might avoid being heard by the bishops, appealed to the Emperor. And that was permitted to be done through want of resolution on the part of our friends, who ought either to have passed a sentence even against one who resisted it, or, if they

were regarded as themselves suspicious persons, should have reserved the hearing for other bishops, and should not have transferred to the Emperor a cause involving such manifest offences.

50.1 Thus, then, all whom the process embraced were brought before the Emperor. The bishops Ydacius and Ithacius followed as accusers; and I would by no means blame their zeal in overthrowing heretics, if they had not contended for victory with greater keenness than was fitting.

2 And my feeling indeed is, that the accusers were as distasteful to me as the accused. I certainly hold that Ithacius had no worth or holiness about him. For he was a bold, loquacious, impudent, and extravagant man, excessively devoted to the pleasures of gluttony.

3-5 [He made accusations promiscuously, not sparing even Martin of Tours, who implored him to drop his accusations against Priscillian, and the Emperor to leave the matter to ecclesiastical tribunals.]

6 And in fact, as long as Martin was at Trier, the trial was put off; and at his impending departure he, by his remarkable influence, obtained a promise from Maximus, that no measure involving bloodshed would
7 be resolved on with respect to the accused. But subsequently, the Emperor being led astray by the bishops Magnus and Rufus, and turned from the milder course which Martin had counselled, entrusted the case to the Prefect Evodius, a man of stern and severe character.

8 He tried Priscillian in two assemblies, and convicted him of magic arts. In fact, Priscillian did not deny that he had given himself up to lewd doctrines; had been accustomed to hold, by night, gatherings of vile women, and to pray in a state of nudity. Accordingly, Evodius pronounced him guilty, and sent him back to prison, until he had time to consult the Emperor. The matter, then, was reported to the palace, and the Emperor decreed that Priscillian and his friends should be put to death.

51.1 [In his final chapter Sulpicius chronicles the death of Priscillian and six others, including one woman, the banishment of Instantius (condemned by an ecclesiastical court) to the Scilly Isles, and punishment of others. The sentence recoiled on the accusers as Ithacius was deprived of his see, and Ydacius resigned his (later he tried to recover it).]

7 Well, after the death of Priscillian, not only was the heresy not suppressed, which, under him, as its author, had burst forth, but acquiring strength, it became more widely spread. For his followers who had previously honoured him as a saint, subsequently began to
8 reverence him as a martyr. The bodies of those who had been put to death were conveyed to Spain, and their funerals were celebrated with great pomp. Nay, it came to be thought the highest exercise of religion to swear by Priscillian. But between them and our friends, a perpetual war of quarrelling has been kept up. And that conflict, after being sustained for fifteen years with horrible dissension, could not by any

- 9 means be set at rest. And now all things were seen to be disturbed and confused by the discord, especially of the bishops, while everything was corrupted by them through their hatred, partiality, fear, faithlessness, envy, factiousness, lust, avarice, pride, sleepiness and
 10 inactivity. In a word, a large number were striving with insane plans and obstinate inclinations against a few giving wise counsel: while, in the meantime, the people of God, and all the excellent of the earth were exposed to mockery and insult. (NPNF, altered.)

51.8. *fifteen years*: the Priscillianists were still flourishing in Spain in 447 (Leo, *Epistle* XV). See also letter of the presbyter Consentius to Augustine (Letter II in the Divjak collection, *CSEL* 88) concerning the presence of Priscillianism in eastern Spain *c.* 420.

129 Martin of Tours at Trier, 386

Sulpicius Severus, *Dial.* II (III).11.6; 12.4–13.6

The execution of the Priscillianists (128 above) horrified Martin. As related in 128 he had exacted a promise from Maximus, with whom he had been on not unfriendly terms (Sulpicius, *Vita Martini*, 20.3ff) that extreme measures would not be taken. But when the execution had been carried out in Martin's absence from Trier, the bishops dreaded his return, especially as they had persuaded Maximus to send officials to Spain to harry the Priscillianists.

- 11.6 To their guilty consciences, their most harassing anxiety was that when he arrived he would refuse to be in communion with them, in which case there would be no lack of persons who, with the authority of so great a man behind them, would imitate his firmness.
- 12.4 [Martin had many petitions to make to the Emperor, and eventually the emperor left his presence in anger,] and presently executioners were appointed for the men for whom Martin had been interceding.
- 13.1 When Martin was told of this, he rushed back to the palace, though by now it was night-time. He promised that if these people were pardoned he would join in communion with the bishops, provided that the tribunes already sent to destroy the Church in Spain were recalled
 2 as well. Maximus granted all his requests without delay. The next day the consecration of Felix as bishop was put through. He was a man of great holiness and, in happier times, entirely worthy of the episcopate. On the same day Martin joined the bishops in communion, judging
 3 that to make this momentary concession was better than deserting the cause of those whose heads were in jeopardy. But though the bishops strove with all their might to get him to certify this communion with his signature, nothing would induce him to do that.

The next day he abruptly left the city and began his journey back, sorrowing and sighing that even for a moment he had taken part in a guilty communion.

4 [On his journey an angel stood before him and comforted him, telling
him that there was no other way out.]

5 From that time onwards, therefore, he took very good care not to
join in communion again with the party of Ithacius. But there were
6 times when in curing the demoniacs he took longer than he used to do,
and grace flowed less lavishly, and then he would confess to us with
tears that because of that evil act of participation he felt a diminution of
spiritual power, even though he had taken part for a mere instant of
time, and from necessity and not from desire. He lived sixteen years
after this, without attending a single synod and keeping away from
every gathering of bishops. (Hoare, *The Western Fathers*, pp. 136–7,
slightly altered.)

Felix: 'The name of the unlucky bishop of Trier served as a title for the
opposing parties; there were Felician bishops and anti-Felician bishops' (E.
Griffe, *La Gaule chrétienne à l'époque romaine*, I, p. 243). He was not recognized
by Ambrose or Siricius and eventually resigned his see c. 398.

6. *keeping away*: cf. 92 above.

15 *Monasticism in the East*

130 Pachomius and his Monasteries

Sozomen, *HE*, III.14. 16–17

- 16 Pachomius was a man who loved men and was beloved of God, so that he could foreknow future events, and was frequently admitted to intercourse with the holy angels. He resided at Tabennisi, in Thebais, and hence his monks are called Tabbenesians to this day. By
17 adopting these rules for their government, they became very renowned, and in the process of time increased so vastly, that they reached to the number of seven thousand men. But the community at Tabennisi with which Pachomius lived, consisted of about thirteen hundred; the others resided in the Thebais and the rest of Egypt. They all observed one and the same rule of life, and possessed everything in common. They regarded the community established in Tabennisi as their mother, and the rulers of it as their fathers and their princes. (NPNF, altered.)

In this long chapter Sozomen records the names and achievements of the leaders of the ascetic life, c. 345. This was one of the subjects that, in *HE*, I. 1. 18–19, he regarded it as his duty to handle. In particular in sections 5 to 15 he describes the manner of life laid down by Pachomius for his monks. He was writing c. 440 and reflects therefore a 5th century view of the Rule. See P. Rousseau, *Pachomius* (Univ. of California 1985). Rousseau considers that Pachomius emphasized the virtue of community life, and the Rule was a gradual development from this.

131 Admission to a Monastery

Cassian, *Inst.* IV.3

One, then, who seeks to be admitted to the discipline of the monastery is never received before he gives, by lying outside the doors for ten days or even longer, an evidence of his perseverance and desire, as well as of humility and patience. And when, prostrate at the feet of all the brethren that pass by, and of set purpose repelled and scorned by all of them, as if he was wanting to enter the monastery not for the sake of religion but because he was obliged; and when, too, covered with many insults and affronts, he has given a practical proof of his steadfastness, and has shown what he will be like in temptations by the way he has borne the disgrace; and when, with the ardour of his soul thus ascertained, he is admitted, then they inquire with the utmost care

whether he is contaminated by a single coin from his former possessions clinging to him. For they know that he cannot stay for long under the discipline of the monastery, or ever learn the virtue even of humility and obedience, or be content with the poverty and difficult life of the monastery, if he knows that ever so small a sum of money has been kept hid; but, as soon as ever a disturbance arises on some occasion or other, he will at once dart off from the monastery like a stone from a sling, impelled to this by trusting in that sum of money. (NPNF, slightly altered.)

For other accounts of reception in monasteries, cf. the rule of Pachomius XLIX (from Jerome's Latin Version):

If anyone comes to the door of the monastery wanting to renounce the world, and to join the number of the brethren, he shall not be allowed to enter, but the Abbot of the monastery must first be told, and he shall stay for a few days outside before the gate, and shall be taught the Lord's Prayer, and as many Psalms as he can learn, and shall diligently give proof of himself that he has not done anything wrong and fled in trouble for the time, and that he is not in anyone's power, and that he can forsake his relations and disregard his property. And if they see that he is apt for everything, then he shall be taught the rest of the rules of the monastery, — what he ought to do, whom he is to obey — . . . [and, finally, he is to be admitted.] (NPNF (Cassian).)

Also Basil, *The Longer Rules* X (W. K. Lowther Clarke, *The Ascetic Works of St Basil*, pp. 171–2).

132 Life in a Monastery of Pachomius

Jerome, *Praef. in regulam S. Pachomii*, 5, 6

- 5 The sick are attended with wonderful devotion, food being made ready for them in plenty; those in good health practise a stricter abstinence. Twice a week, on the fourth and the sixth day of the week, they fast entirely: except at Easter and Pentecost. On other days, those who wish to do so take their meal after midday: so too at supper the table is laid, for the sake of the sick, the old, the young, and those in high fever. Some eat but little at the second meal; others are satisfied with but one meal, be it luncheon or supper. Not a few just take a bite of bread, and then go out. All take their meals together. If any one does not wish to come to table, he has an allowance, in his cell, of bread and water only, with salt, for one day or two, according as he desires.
- 6 Brethren of the same trade are lodged in one house under one superior. For example, weavers are together; mat-makers are reckoned as one household; tailors, carpenters, fullers, shoe-makers — each

trade is under the several rule of its own superior. And, week by week, an account of their work is rendered to the abbot of the monastery. (Kidd, *Documents*, II, p. 191, slightly altered.)

133 The Monastic Life

Jerome, *Ep.* XXII.34-5

- 34 As I have mentioned the monks, and know that you like to hear about holy things, lend an ear to me for a few moments. There are in Egypt three classes of monks. First, there are the coenobites, called in their Gentile language *Sauses*, or as we should say, men living in a community. Secondly, there are the anchorites, who live in the desert, each man by himself and are so called because they have withdrawn from human society. Thirdly, there is the class called *Remoboth*, a very inferior and little regarded type; though, in my own province, it is the chief if not the only sort. These live together in twos and threes, but seldom in larger numbers, and are bound by no rule, but do exactly as they choose. A portion of their earnings they contribute to a common fund, out of which food is provided for all. In most cases, they reside in cities and strongholds and, as though it were their workmanship which is holy and not their life, all that they sell is extremely dear. They often quarrel because they are unwilling, while supplying their own food, to be subordinate to others. It is true that they compete with each other in fasting; they make what should be a private concern an occasion for a triumph. In everything they study effect; their sleeves are loose, their boots bulge, their garb is of the coarsest. They are always sighing, or visiting virgins, or sneering at the clergy; yet, when a holiday comes, they make themselves sick—they eat so much.
- 35 Having then rid ourselves of these as the plague, let us come to that more numerous class who live together, and who are, as we have said, called coenobites. Among these the first principle of association is to obey superiors and to do whatever they command. They are divided into bodies of ten and of a hundred, so that each tenth man has authority over nine others, while the hundredth has ten of these officers under him. They live apart from each other, in separate cells. According to their rule, no monk may visit another before the ninth hour, except the leaders of ten above mentioned, whose office is to comfort, with soothing words, those whose thoughts disquiet them. After the ninth hour they meet together to sing psalms and read the Scriptures according to usage. Then when the prayers have ended and all have sat down, one called the father stands up in their midst and begins to expound. While he is speaking the silence is complete; no

man ventures to look at his neighbour or to clear his throat. The speaker's praise is in the weeping of his hearers. Silent tears roll down their cheeks, but not a sob escapes from their lips. Yet when he begins to speak of Christ's kingdom, and of future bliss, and of the glory which is to come, everyone may be noticed saying to himself, with a gentle sigh and uplifted eyes: *Who shall give me wings like a dove! For then I shall fly away and be at rest.*¹ After this the meeting breaks up and each company of ten goes with its father to its own table. This they take it in turns to serve, each for a week at a time. No noise is made over the food; no one talks while eating. Bread, pulse, and greens form their fare, and the only seasoning is salt and oil. Wine is given only to the old, who with the children often have a special meal prepared for them to repair the ravages of age and to save the young from premature decay.

When the meal is over they all rise together, and, after singing a hymn, return to their dwellings. There each one talks till evening with his comrade thus: 'Have you noticed so-and-so? What grace he has! How silent he is! How soberly he walks!' If anyone is weak they comfort him; or if he is fervent in love to God, they encourage him to fresh earnestness. And because at night, besides the public prayers, each man keeps vigil in his own chamber, they go round all the cells one by one, and putting their ears to the doors, carefully ascertain what their occupants are doing. If they find a monk slothful, they do not scold him; but, dissembling what they know, they visit him more frequently, and at first exhort rather than compel him to pray more. Each day has its allotted task, and this being given in to the leader of ten, is by him brought to the steward. This latter, once a month, gives a scrupulous account to their common father. He also tastes the dishes when they are cooked, and, as no one is allowed to say, 'I am without a tunic or a cloak or a couch of rushes, he so arranges that no one need ask for or go without what he wants. In case a monk falls ill, he is moved to a more spacious chamber, and there so attentively nursed by the old men, that he misses neither the luxury of cities, nor a mother's kindness. Every Lord's day they spend their whole time in prayer and reading; indeed, when they have finished their tasks, these are their usual occupations at all times. Every day they learn by heart a portion of Scripture. They keep the same fasts all the year round, but in Lent they are allowed to live more strictly. After Whitsuntide they exchange their evening meal for a midday one; both to satisfy the tradition of the Church and to avoid overloading their stomachs with a double supply of food. (NPNF, altered.)

¹ Ps. 55.6 (54.7)

coenobites: from κοινὸς βίος, a life in common.

anchorites: from ἀναχωρεῖν, to withdraw.

Remoboth: cf. Cassian, *Collat.* XVIII.7, who calls these monks Sarabaites and speaks of them in scathing terms.

they eat so much: cf. 139 (1) below.

the ninth hour: i.e. half-way between noon and sunset.

134 The Monks of Nitria

Palladius, *Lausiac History*, VII.1–5

1 So then, after my visit to the monasteries round Alexandria with their 2000 or so most noble and zealous members and my three years sojourn there, I left them and went to the mountain of Nitria. Between this mountain and Alexandria lies the lake called Maria, seventy miles in extent. Having sailed across this I came to the mountain on its south side in a day and a half.

2 Next to this mountain lies the great desert which stretches as far as Ethiopia and the Mazicae and Mauretania. On the mountain live some 5000 men with different modes of life, each living in accordance with his own powers and wishes, so that it is allowed to live alone, or with another, or with a number of others. There are seven bakeries in the mountain, which serve the needs both of these men and also of the anchorites of the great desert, 600 in all.

3 So, having dwelt on the mountain for a year and having received much benefit from the blessed fathers . . . and having been spurred on by hearing their many tales about the fathers, I penetrated into the uttermost part of the desert.

In the mountain of Nitria there is a great church, by which stand three palm-trees, each with a whip suspended from it. One is intended for the solitaries who transgress, one for robbers if any pass that way, and one for chance comers; so that all who transgress and are judged worthy of blows are tied to the palm-tree and receive on the back the appointed (number of stripes) and are then released.

4 Next to the church is a guest-house, where they receive the stranger who has arrived, until he goes away of his own accord, without limit of time, even if he remains two or three years. Having allowed him to spend one week in idleness, the rest of his stay they occupy with work either in the garden, or bakery, or kitchen. If he should be an important person, they give him a book, not allowing him to talk to anyone before the sixth hour. In this mountain there also live doctors and makers of flat cakes. And they use wine and wine is on sale.

5 All these men work with their hands at linen-manufacture, so that all are self-supporting. And indeed at the ninth hour it is possible to stand and hear how the strains of psalmody rise from each habitation

so that one believes that one is high above the world in Paradise. They occupy the church only on Saturday and Sunday. There are eight priests who serve the church, in which, so long as the senior priest lives, no one else celebrates, or preaches, or gives decisions, but they all just sit quietly by his side. (W. K. Lowther Clarke, *The Lausiaca History of Palladius*, pp. 57–8, altered.)

This passage is included to show how the desert became peopled with monks.

‘Among the facts mentioned by Palladius, attention may be directed to the use of wine by the monks of Nitria; to the developed organization of the vast community; to the custom of celebrating Evensong in the separate cells; and to the voluntary character of the system and the large discretion allowed to each in the pursuit of his ascetical exercises.’ (C. Butler, *The Lausiaca History of Palladius*, II, p. 189.)

1. my three years sojourn: AD 388–390.

the lake called Maria: i.e. Lake Mareotis. Palladius exaggerates its size.

the mountain of Nitria: about sixty miles south of Alexandria.

135 Feats of Asceticism: Macarius of Alexandria

Palladius, *Lausiaca History*, xviii. 1–3

- 1 But I did meet the other Macarius, the Alexandrian, a priest of the place called Cellia. I sojourned in this Cellia nine years. He survived for three years of my stay there. And some things I saw (for myself), some I heard from him, and some things again I heard from others. This then was the method of his asceticism. If ever he heard of any feat, he did the same thing, perfectly. For instance, having heard from some that the monks of Tabennisi all through Lent eat (only) food that has not been near the fire, he decided for seven years to eat nothing that had been through the fire, and except for raw vegetables, if any such were found, and moistened pulse he tasted nothing.
- 2 Having practised this virtue to perfection, he heard about another man, that he ate a pound of bread. And having broken up his ration-biscuit and put it into a vessel with a narrow mouth, he decided to eat just as much as his hand brought out. And he would tell the story thus in a joking manner: ‘I seized hold of a number of pieces, but I could not extract them all at once by reason of the narrowness of the opening, for like a tax-gatherer it would not let me.’ So for three years he kept up this practice of asceticism, eating four or five ounces of bread and drinking as much water, and a pint of oil in the year.
- 3 Here is another practice of his. He determined to dispense with sleep, and he told us how he did not go under a roof for twenty days, that he might conquer sleep, being burnt up by the sun’s heat and shrivelled up with cold by night. And he used to say this: ‘Unless I had soon gone under a roof and got some sleep, my brain would have so

dried up as to drive me into delirium for ever after. And I conquered so far as depended on me, but I gave way so far as depended on my nature that had need of sleep.' (W. K. Lowther Clarke, *The Lausiaca History of Palladius*, pp. 77–8.

1. *Macarius, the Alexandrian*: see *Historia Monachorum in Aegypto* (attributed to Rufinus), XXX, Soz., III.14.

nine years: Palladius went to Cellia in 390 or 391 (Butler, II.245).

2. 'Only one pound of bread each day' (Syriac).

βουκκελλᾶιον: a hard biscuit used by soldiers.

vessel with a narrow mouth: The text is doubtful, but this is clearly the meaning. An alternative translation reads, 'like a tax-gatherer it *took toll* of the handful of bread that has come up so far'.

136 Monastic Wisdom

Extracts from the *Apophthegmata Patrum* or *Sayings of the Fathers*, I.1,2,4–6; XV.1–9

Of the progress of the fathers in perfection

- 1 Someone asked Abba Antony: 'What rules shall I keep to please God?' The old man replied: 'Keep my instructions, and they are these: Wherever you go, recollect God in your mind's eye. Whatever you do, do it after the example of Holy Scripture. And wherever you stay, be in no hurry to move. If you keep these three rules, you will be safe.'
- 2 Abba Pambo asked Abba Antony: 'What shall I do?' The old man replied: 'Trust not in your own righteousness. Be not penitent for a deed that is past and gone. And keep your tongue and belly under control.'
- 3 Abba Evagrius said: 'Some of the fathers used to say that a dry and regular diet, combined with charity, will quickly bring the monk to the harbour where the storms of passion do not enter.'
- 4 The same said: 'A certain monk was told that his father had died. He said to the messenger "Stop blaspheming. My father cannot die."'
- 5 Abba Macarius said to Abba Zacharias: 'Tell me, what makes a monk?' He said: 'Is it not wrong that you should be asking me?' And Abba Macarius said to him: 'I am sure I ought to ask of you, my son, Zacharias. I have one who urges me on to ask you.' Zacharias. said to him: 'As far as I can tell, Father, I think that whoever controls and forces himself to be content with necessities and nothing more, that man is a monk.'

Of humility

xv.1 Abba Antony was baffled as he meditated upon the depths of God's judgements, and prayed thus: 'Lord, how is it that some die young and others grow old and infirm? Why are there some poor and some wealthy? And why are the rich unrighteous and grind the faces of the righteous poor?'

And a voice came to him: 'Antony, look to yourself: these are the judgements of God, and it is not good for you to know them.'

2 Abba Antony said to Abba Poemen: 'Man's great work is to lay his guilt upon himself before God, and to expect to be tempted to the end of his life.'

3 Abba Antony also said: 'I saw all the devil's traps set upon the earth, and I groaned and said: 'Who do you think can pass through them?' And I heard a voice saying: "Humility."'

4 Once some old men came to Abba Antony, and Abba Joseph was with them. Abba Antony, wanting to test them, began to speak about holy Scripture. And he began to ask the younger monks the meaning of text after text, and each of them replied as he was able. And to each the old man said: 'You have not yet found it.' Then he said to Abba Joseph: 'What do you say is the meaning of this word?' He answered: 'I do not know.' And Abba Antony said: 'Truly Abba Joseph alone has found the true way, for he answered that he does not know.'

Abba Arsenius

5 Some demons were once standing near Abba Arsenius in his cell, and were troubling him. Then some brothers came, who usually ministered to him. As they stood outside the cell, they heard him crying aloud to the Lord: 'Lord, do not leave me, though I have done nothing good in thy sight. Grant me, Lord, according to thy loving-kindness, at least the very beginning of a good life.'

6 They said of Abba Arsenius, that while he was in the Emperor's palace he was the best dressed person there: and while he was leading the religious life, no one was clothed in worse rags.

7 Abba Arsenius was once asking an old Egyptian for advice about his temptations. And another, who saw this, said: 'Abba Arsenius, how is it that you, who are so learned in the Greek and Latin languages, come to be asking that uneducated countryman about your temptations?' He answered: 'I have acquired the world's knowledge of Greek and Latin: but I have not yet been able to learn the alphabet of this uneducated man.'

8 The old men said that they once gave the brothers in Scete a few figs: but because they had so few, they did not give any to Abba Arsenius, for fear he should be offended. When he heard of this, he did not go out as usual to the divine office with the brothers, and said:

'You have excommunicated me, by not giving me the blest food which the Lord sent to the brothers, because I was not worthy to receive it.' And they were edified at his humility, and the priest went and took him some of the figs, and brought him back to the congregation happy.

- 9 They used to say that no one could fathom the depth of his religious life. Once when he was living in Lower Egypt, and suffering from importunate visitors, he decided to leave his cell. He took nothing with him, and said to his disciples Alexander and Zoilus: 'Alexander, you board a ship, and you, Zoilus, come with me to the Nile and find for me a little boat that is sailing to Alexandria, and then sail to join your brother.' Zoilus was troubled at this, but said nothing, and so they parted. (Tr. Owen Chadwick, *Western Asceticism* (London, SCM Press 1958), pp. 37 and 156–7.)

On the *Apophthegmata Patrum* see p. 385.

I.1 *Antony*: c. 250–356, the founder of the organized ascetic movement in Egypt. On the earliest, Coptic, *Life of Antony* see T. D. Barnes, 'Angel of Light or Mystic Initiate? The Problem of the Life of Antony' (*JTS* NS 37, 1986), pp. 353–68.

I.2 *Pambo*: monk of Nitria and friend of other famous ascetics. Received Melania on her visit to those parts.

I.4 *Evagrius*: monk and writer, originally from Pontus where he was born c. 345. Emigrated from Constantinople to Egypt and spent the last seventeen years of his life as a monk in the cells of Scete, dying in 398.

I.6 *Macarius*: Probably Antony's disciple, Macarius of Pispir is meant here.

Zacharias: Monk of Scete.

XV.2 *Poemen*. Monk of Scete. Famous for the rigour of his mental detachment. Recorded to have refused an invitation from a fellow monk, Paesius, who wished to entertain him, with the words 'I am a dead man, and a dead man does not speak.' A large proportion of the sayings are attributed to him.

XV.4 *Joseph*: disciple of Antony.

XV.5 *Arsenius*: one of the few educated Greek-speaking Egyptians to join the ascetic movement in Scete. The passages show the continuing tension between Greek and Coptic among Egyptian Christians.

XV.9 *Alexander and Zoilus*: disciples of Arsenius. Both would appear to have been Alexandrians and Greek speakers.

137 Monastic Failings: the Spirit of Accidie

Cassian, *Inst.* X.1–2

- 1 Our sixth combat is with what the Greeks call ἀκηδία, which we may term weariness or distress of heart. This is akin to dejection, and is especially trying to solitaires, and a particularly dangerous and frequent foe to dwellers in the desert; and especially disturbing to a monk about the sixth hour, like some fever which seizes him at stated

times, bringing the burning heat of its attacks on his sick soul at usual and regular hours. Lastly, there are some of the elders who declare that this is the 'demon of midday' spoken of in the ninetyeth Psalm.

- 2.1 And when this has taken possession of his unhappy mind, it produces dislike of the place, disgust with his cell, and disdain and contempt of the brethren who dwell with him or at a little distance, as if they were careless or too little spiritual. It also makes the man lazy and sluggish about all manner of work which has to be done within the enclosure of his dormitory. It does not suffer him to stay in his cell, or to take any pains about reading, and he often groans because in all this time he is making no progress while he stays there and complains and sighs because he is bearing no spiritual fruit so long as he is joined to that society; and he complains that he is cut off from spiritual gain, and lives in these surroundings in vacuous futility, as if he were one who, though he could govern others and be useful to a great number of people, yet was edifying none, nor profiting anyone by his teaching and doctrine. He cries up distant monasteries and those which are a long way off, and describes such places as more profitable for his own progress and better suited for salvation; and besides this he paints the intercourse with the brethren there as sweet and full of spiritual life. On the other hand, he says that everything about him is rough, and not only that there is nothing edifying among the brethren who are stopping there, but also that even food for the body cannot be procured without great difficulty. Lastly he fancies that he will never be well while he stays in that place, unless he leaves his cell (in which he is sure to die if he stops in it any longer) and takes himself off from there as quickly as possible. Then the fifth or sixth hour brings him such bodily weariness and longing for food that he seems to himself worn out and wearied as if with a long journey, or some very heavy work, or as if he had put off taking food during a fast of two or three days. Then besides this he looks anxiously this way and that and sighs that none of the brethren come to see him, and often goes in and out of his cell, and frequently stares up at the sun, as if it was too slow in setting, and so a kind of unreasonable confusion of mind takes possession of him like some foul darkness, and makes him idle and useless for every spiritual work, so that he imagines that no cure for so terrible an attack can be found in anything except visiting some one of the brethren, or in the solace of sleep alone. Then the disease suggests that he ought to show courteous and friendly hospitalities to the brethren, and pay visits to the sick, whether near at hand, or far off. He talks too about some dutiful and religious duties; that those kinsfolk ought to be inquired after, and that he ought to go and see them oftener; that it would be a real work of piety to go more frequently to visit that religious woman devoted to the service of God, who is deprived of all support of kindred; and that it would be a most excellent thing to get what is

needful for her who is neglected and despised by her own kinsfolk; and that he ought piously to devote his time to these things instead of staying uselessly and with no progress in his cell. (NPNF, altered.)

Books V to VII of Cassian's *Institutes* deal with the eight principal faults that may affect the monk. Book X deals with ἀκηδία, or in English *accidie* (though the word is now archaic, cf., for example, the note on Cassian *Inst.* V.1 in NPNF, pp. 233–4).

1. *demon of midday*: from Ps. 91(90).6 ('the destruction that wastes at noon-day'), translated in the LXX καὶ δαιμονίου μεσημβρινοῦ, which is followed in the Vulgate, *et daemonio meridiano* (noonday devil (Douai version)).

138 Monastic Failings: The Spirit of Faction

Jerome, *Ep.* XVII.2, to the Presbyter Marcus

- 2 And first, before I speak to you of my belief (which you know full well), I am forced to cry out against the inhumanity of this country. A hackneyed quotation best expresses my meaning:

What savages are these who will not grant
A rest to strangers, even on their sands!
And they threaten war and drive us from their coasts.

I take this from a Gentile poet that one who disregards the peace of Christ may at least learn its meaning from a heathen. I am called a heretic, although I preach the consubstantial trinity. I am accused of the Sabellian impiety, although I proclaim with unwearied voice that in the Godhead there are three distinct, real, whole, and perfect persons. The Arians do right to accuse me, but the orthodox forfeit their orthodoxy when they assail a faith like mine. They may, if they like, condemn me as a heretic; but if they do they must also condemn Egypt and the West, Damasus and Peter. Why do they fasten the guilt on one and leave his companions uncensured? If there is but little water in the stream, it is the fault, not of the channel, but of the source. I blush to say it, but from the caves which serve us for cells we monks of the desert condemn the world. Rolling in sack-cloth and ashes, we pass sentence on bishops. What use is the robe of a penitent if it covers the pride of a king? Chains, squalor, and long hair are by right tokens of sorrow, and not ensigns of royalty. I merely ask leave to remain silent. Why do they torment a man who does not deserve their ill-will? I am a heretic, you say. What is it to you if I am? Stay quiet, and all is said. You are afraid, I suppose, that, with my fluent knowledge of Syriac and Greek, I shall make a tour of the churches, lead the people into error, and form a schism! I have robbed no man of anything; neither have I

taken what I have not earned. With my own hand¹ daily and in the sweat of my brow² I labour for my food, knowing that it is written by the apostle: '*If any will not work, neither shall he eat.*'³ (St Jerome, 120 NPNF)

Marcus seems to have had a leading position among the monks of Chalcis. For another account by Jerome of his experiences among the Syrian hermits in the desert of Chalcis c. 375 see 141 below.

a Gentile poet: Virgil, *Aen.* I.539–41.

distinct: Latin '*subsistentes*'.

Damasus and Peter: the contemporary bishops of Rome and Alexandria.

sack-cloth and ashes: Tertullian, *Apol.*, 40 s.f.

139 Pagan Hatred of the Monks

If some Christian circles regarded Monasticism with distaste, such a feeling was far more violent among pagans. The monks were the spearhead of Christian intolerance. Moreover, the pagans could have no idea of the real spiritual sources of monasticism. But their criticisms are not pointless; for other examples of monkish violence and fanaticism cf. 101 above.

1 Libanius, *Pro Templis*, 8,9, AD 390

- 8 You (Theodosius) did not order the temples to be closed or forbid them to be frequented, nor did you remove from temples and altars the fire, the offering of frankincense, or the honours arising from the other incense offerings, but the men in black—these eat more than elephants and by the amount they drink make a real task for those who with singing pass the liquor along to them—and all this they conceal under a pallor artificially induced!—anyhow, with the laws still in force they rush on the temples carrying poles, stones, and iron instruments, and any without these bring hands and feet to bear. Then the roofs are knocked in, walls levelled to the ground, images overturned, and altars uprooted—they are a prey to all—while the priests must suffer in silence or die.

- 9 This kind of outrage happens even in the cities, but it is far worse in the country. [The orator goes on to describe the systematic ruination of the country shrines where 'the farm that had been despoiled of its tutelary shrine, which was, in fact, its soul, lay like a blinded corpse' (R. A. Pack, *Studies in Libanius and Antiochene Society under Theodosius*, p. 42). These raids also attacked the farmer's property, and the raiders took their land, calling it 'sacred'.]

The monks make merry out of the misfortunes of others, yet they serve their god by going hungry, as they say! And if those who have

¹ 1 Cor. 4.12

² Gen. 3.19

³ 2 Thess. 3.10

been plundered seek redress from the 'pastor' in the city (i.e. Antioch)—this is the name they give a person who cannot be described as worthy—if they come and complain of their wrongs the 'pastor' has praised their assailants and driven the complainants away, telling them that they are lucky not to have suffered worse.

The speech of Libanius may be the cause of *Cod. Theod.* XVI.3.1 of 2 September 390. 'If any persons should be found in the profession of monks, they shall be ordered to seek out and to inhabit desert places and desolate solitudes' (Pharr, p. 449).

9. *the 'pastor' in the city*: 'Here it apparently refers to Bishop Flavian' (Pack, *op. cit.*, p. 43, n.4).

2 Rutilius, *De Reditu suo*, I.439–48

Next as we journey onward
Capraria's isle we see,
With men who shun the daylight
A vile locality.

In 'solitary' squalor
Called by a Grecian name,
They wish to live unwitnessed,
And shun the gifts of fame.

They shun the gifts of Fortune
But Fortune's ills they fear:
To each while pain avoiding
A life of pain is dear.

O what perverted madness!
O minds of foolish mood!
That in your dread of evil
You cannot bear the good.

Is it to make requital
For former deeds of sin?
Or merely melancholy
From swelling bile within?

Capraria: a volcanic island twenty-three miles north-west of Elba.
a Grecian name, i.e. *monachi*.

or merely melancholy: the poet goes on to compare the monks with Bellerophon (cf. Homer, *Iliad*, 6.200; Cicero, *Tusc.* 3.26.63). 'Rutilius inclines to the latter hypothesis (i.e. bile) and attributes the monks' love of seclusion to the disease of melancholy, such as led Bellerophon to shun mankind' (C. H. Keene, *Rutilius Claudius Namatianus*, p. 211). Keene quotes Pliny, *NH*, 11.37, and Cicero, *Tusc.* 3.5.11 on 'bile' as the cause of melancholy and madness.

3 Zosimus, *Historia Nova*, 5.23

These men (the monks) renounce lawful wedlock, and in both cities and villages they form well-peopled associations full of celibates who are useless either for war or for any other urgent need of the State, but by steadily advancing, somehow or other, from that time up to the present day they have appropriated a great share of the land, having beggared, so to speak, all men under the pretext of sharing their whole substance with beggars. (Tr. R. A. Pack, op. cit., p. 44.)

from that time: i.e. from Chrysostom's episcopate in Constantinople.

16 *Jerome*

A THE UNQUIET ASCETIC

140 Lax Christianity in Jerome's Home Town

Jerome, *Ep.* VII.4 and 5

You know yourselves how treacherous is the path of youth, a path where I fell and which you are now traversing not without fear. At this moment, when she is entering upon it, she needs to be supported by all men's encouragement, confirmed by all men's advice; in other words, strengthened by such frequent letters as your saintliness will suggest. Love endureth all things; and I therefore beg you to get a letter from Pope Valerian also, so that her courage may be increased. You know that a girl's spirit is often fortified by the thought that her elders are interested in her.

As for my own country, it is enslaved to barbarism, and men's family God is their belly. People live only for the day, and the richer you are the more saintly you are held to be. Furthermore, to use a well-worn popular saying, the cover there is worthy of the dish; for Lupicinus is their priest. It bears out the proverb which, as Lucilius tells us, made Crassus laugh for the only time in his life: 'When an ass eats thistles up, his lips have lettuce like themselves.' I mean that in my country a crippled helmsman steers a leaking ship, a blind man leads the blind into a pit; as the ruler is, so are the ruled. (Tr. F. A. Wright, *Select Letters of Jerome*, Loeb edn., p. 25.)

Jerome writes to his friends (and future bishops) Chromatius, Jovinus and Eusebius from the desert of Chalcis in 374.

she is entering: he is referring to his sister who has been converted to an ascetic life.

Pope Valerian: a bishop, not otherwise known.

Lupicinus: a priest or bishop of Stridon in Dalmatia, a Spaniard by birth who probably had little use for monasticism.

as Lucilius tells: Cicero, *De Fin.*, v. 30.

When an ass . . .: the precise point is not clear. For its currency, however, see Migne, *PL*, 87, p. 393.

141 Jerome in the Desert

Jerome, *Ep.* XXII.7

How often, when I was living in the desert, in the vast solitude which gives to hermits a savage dwelling place, parched by a burning sun, how often did I fancy myself among the pleasures of Rome! I used to sit alone because I was filled with bitterness. Sackcloth disfigured my unshapely limbs and my skin from long neglect had become as black as an Ethiopian's. Tears and groans were every day my portion; and if drowsiness chanced to overcome my struggles against it, my bare bones, which hardly held together, were bruised against the ground. Of my food and drink I say nothing: for, even in sickness, the solitaries have nothing but cold water, and to eat one's food cooked is looked upon as self-indulgence. Now, although in my fear of hell I had consigned myself to this prison, where I had no companions but scorpions and wild beasts, I often found myself amid bevvies of girls. My face was pale with fasting, but though my limbs were chilled, yet my mind was burning with desire, and the fires of lust kept bubbling up before me when my flesh was as good as dead. Helpless, I cast myself at the feet of Jesus, I watered them with my tears, I wiped them with my hair¹: and then I subdued my rebellious body with weeks of abstinence. I do not blush to avow my abject misery; rather I lament that I am not now what once I was. I remember how I often cried aloud all night till the break of day and ceased not from beating my breast till tranquillity returned at the chiding of the Lord. I used to dread my cell as though it knew my thoughts; and, stern and angry with myself, I used to make my way alone into the desert. Wherever I saw hollow valleys, craggy mountains, steep cliffs, there I made my place of prayer, there the house of correction for my unhappy flesh. There, also—the Lord himself is my witness—when I had shed copious tears and had strained my eyes towards heaven, I sometimes felt myself among angelic hosts, and for joy and gladness sang: *because of the savour of thy good ointments we will run after thee.*² (NPNF, altered.)

On the temptations of the monk, cf. 137 above.

Jerome was in the desert of Chalcis, east of Antioch, from 374 to 378.

The above passage comes from Jerome's very long letter to Eustochium, the first virgin of noble birth in Rome (*ibid.* 15), on the motives of, and rules for, those devoting themselves to virginity. Passages 145 and 146 below also come from the letter, but represent only some small part of Jerome's argument.

¹ Cf. Luke 7.38; John 12.3

² Song of Sol. 1.3,4

142 Jerome: Ciceronian or Christian?

Jerome, *Ep.* XXII.30

Many years ago when, for the kingdom of heaven's sake, I had cut myself off from home, parents, sister, relatives, and—harder still—from the dainty food to which I had been accustomed, and when I was on my way to Jerusalem to wage my warfare, I still could not bring myself to forgo the library which I had formed for myself at Rome with great care and toil. And so, miserable man that I was, I would fast only that I might afterwards read Cicero. After many nights spent in vigil, after floods of tears called from my inmost heart in recollection of my past sins, I would once more take up Plautus. And when at times I returned to my right mind and began to read the prophets, their style seemed rude and repellent. I failed to see the light with my blinded eyes; but I attributed the fault not to them, but to the sun. While the old serpent was thus making me his plaything, about the middle of Lent a fever fell upon my weakened body, and while it destroyed my rest completely—the story seems hardly credible—it so wasted my unhappy frame that scarcely anything was left of me but skin and bone. Meantime, preparations for my funeral went on; my body grew gradually colder, and the warmth of life lingered only in my poor throbbing breast. Suddenly I was caught up in the spirit and dragged before the judgement seat of the Judge; and here the light was so bright, and those who stood around were so radiant, that I cast myself upon the ground and did not dare to look up. Asked what my rank was, I replied: 'A Christian'. But he who presided said: 'You lie. You are a Ciceronian, not a Christian. For *where your treasure is, there will your heart be also*.'¹ Instantly, I became dumb, and amid the strokes of the lash—for he had ordered me to be scourged—I was tortured more severely still by the fire of conscience, considering with myself that verse: *In the grave who shall give thee thanks?*² Yet, for all that, I began to cry and to bewail myself, saying: 'Have mercy upon me, O Lord: have mercy upon me.' Amid the sound of the scourges this cry still made itself heard. At last the bystanders, falling down before the knees of him who presided, prayed that he would have pity on my youth, and that he would give me space to repent of my error. He might still, they urged, inflict torture on me, should I ever again read the works of the Gentiles. Under the stress of that awful moment, I should have been ready to make even still larger promises than these. Accordingly I made oath and called upon his name, saying: 'Lord, if ever again I possess worldly books, or if ever again I read such, I have denied thee.' Dismissed then, on taking this oath, I returned to the upper world and to the surprise of all I opened eyes so drenched with tears, that my

¹ Matt. 6.21² Ps. 6.5

distress served to convince even the incredulous. And that this was no sleep or idle dream, such as often mock us, I call to witness the judgement seat before which I fell down and the verdict which I feared. May it never be my lot to appear again before such a court! I declare that my shoulders were black and blue, and that I felt the bruises long after I awoke and that thenceforth I read the books of God with a zeal greater than I had previously given to the books of men. (NPNF, altered.)

rude and repellent: bad style was a reproach frequently brought against the Scriptures in the early centuries.

I returned to the upper world: Jerome apparently regarded this judgement as taking place in the classical Hades!

143 Jerome's Appeal to Damasus for Light in his Doctrinal Darkness, 376–77

Jerome, *Ep.* XV.1–4

Jerome was living among the hermits of Chalcis, east of Antioch, when he made this impassioned plea for guidance in the religious controversies of the Church of Antioch (see also 139 above). He was then about thirty years old.

- 1 Since the East, shattered as it is by the long-standing feuds subsisting between its people, is bit by bit tearing into shreds the seamless vest of the Lord, *woven from the top throughout*,¹ since *the foxes* are destroying the vineyard of Christ,² I think it is my duty to consult the chair of Peter, and to turn to a Church whose faith has been praised by Paul. I appeal for spiritual food to the Church whence I took upon myself the garb of Christ . . .

[Rome is the fruitful soil that bears a hundredfold, in the East the seed is choked. The West has the light of the Sun of Righteousness, the East has the light of Lucifer, who has once more set his throne above the stars.³]

- 2 Yet, though your greatness terrifies me, your kindness attracts me. From the priest I demand the safe keeping of the victim, from the shepherd the protection due to the sheep. Away with all that is overweening; let the state of Roman majesty withdraw! My words are spoken to the successor of the fishermen, to the disciple of the Cross. As I follow no leader save Christ, so I communicate with none but your blessedness, that is, with the chair of Peter. For this, I know, is the rock on which the Church is built. This is the house where alone the paschal lamb can be rightly eaten. This is the ark of Noah, and he who is not found in it shall perish when the flood prevails. But since, by

¹ John 19.23

² Cf. Song of Sol. 2.15

³ Isa. 14.12

reason of my sins, I have betaken myself to this desert which lies between Syria and the uncivilized waste, I cannot, owing to the great distance between us, always ask of your Sanctity the holy thing of the Lord. Consequently, I here follow the Egyptian confessors who share your faith, and anchor my frail craft under the shadow of their great argosies. I know nothing of Vitalis; I reject Meletius; I have nothing to do with Paulinus. *He that gathers not with you scatters;*¹ he that is not of Christ is of Antichrist.

3 Just now, I am sorry to say, those Arians, the 'Men of the Plain', are trying to extort from me, a Roman Christian, their unheard-of formula of 'three hypostases'! And this, too, after the definition of Nicaea and the decree of Alexandria, in which the West has joined! Where, I should like to know, are the apostles of these doctrines? Where is their Paul, their new doctor of the Gentiles? I ask them what 'three hypostases' are supposed to mean. They reply, 'three persons subsisting'. I rejoin that this is my belief. They are not satisfied with the meaning; they demand the term. Surely some secret venom lurks in the words. 'If any man refuse', I cry, 'to acknowledge "three hypostases" in the sense let him be anathema.' Yet, because I do not learn their words, I am counted a heretic. 'But if anyone, understanding by "hypostasis" "essence", deny that in the three Persons there is one "hypostatis", he has no part in Christ.' Because this is my confession, I, like you, am branded with the stigma of Sabellianism.

4 If you think fit, enact a decree; and then I shall not hesitate to speak of 'three hypostases'. Order a new creed to supersede the creed of Nicaea; and then, whether we are Arians or orthodox, one confession will do for us all. In the whole range of secular learning 'hypostasis' never means anything but 'essence'. And can anyone, I ask, be so profane as to speak of 'three essences' or 'substances' in the Godhead? Let us keep to 'one hypostasis', if such be your pleasure, and say nothing of three. (NPNF, slightly altered.)

1. *the garb of Christ*: i.e. baptism.

2. *the holy thing*: i.e. the Eucharist.

Egyptian confessors: exiled in 373 by Valens, restored by Gratian in 378.

Vitalis: the leader of the Apollinarians.

Meletius: see 36 above.

Paulinus: see 36, 65, 80, 81 above, and 204 below. But when Jerome returned to Antioch in 379, he attached himself to Paulinus (who was in communion with Damasus), and was ordained presbyter by him.

3. *Sabellianism* see 138 above.

'Men of the plain': (?) of Cilicia, i.e. bishops like Silvanus of Tarsus, cf. 33 above: or it may refer to Arians, who worshipped outside Antioch, having no church there.

¹ Luke 11.23

three hypostases: cf. 8 above.

the Decree of Alexandria: of the council of AD 362 (65 above).

B JEROME IN ROME, 382–5

144 Jerome to Damasus on the Revision of the Latin Bible, 383

Jerome, *Praef. in IV. Evang.*

You urge me to make a new work out of an old one, and, as it were, to sit in judgement on the copies of the Scriptures now scattered throughout the whole world, and, since they differ from one another, to decide which of them agree with the true reading of the Greek original. The labour is one of love, but at the same time both perilous and presumptuous; for, in judging others, I must be myself judged by all; and how can I dare to change a language that is old and carry the world back in its hoary old age to the early days of its infancy? Is there a man, learned or unlearned, who will not, when he takes the volume into his hands, and perceives that what he reads does not suit his settled tastes, break out immediately into violent language, and call me a forger and a profane person for having the audacity to add anything to the ancient books, or to make any changes or corrections therein? Now there are two consoling reflections which enable me to bear the odium—in the first place, the command is given by you who are the supreme bishop; and, secondly, even on the showing of those who revile us, readings at variance with the early copies cannot be right. For if we are to pin our faith to the Latin texts, it is for our opponents to tell us *which*; for there are almost as many forms of texts as there are copies. If, on the other hand, we are to glean the truth from a comparison of many, why not go back to the original Greek and correct the mistakes introduced by inaccurate translators, and the blundering alterations of confident but ignorant critics, and further all that has been inserted or changed by copyists more asleep than awake? I am now speaking of the New Testament. This was undoubtedly composed in Greek, with the exception of the work of Matthew the Apostle, who was the first to commit to writing the Gospel of Christ, and who published his work in Judaea in Hebrew characters. We must confess that as we have it in our language it is marked by discrepancies, and now that the stream is distributed into different channels we must go back to the fountain head.

I promise in this short Preface the four Gospels only, which are to be taken in the following order, Matthew, Mark, Luke, John, as they have been revised by the comparison of Greek manuscripts, but of early ones. But to avoid any great divergencies from the Latin which we are

accustomed to read, I have used my pen with some restraint; and while I have corrected only such passages as seemed to convey a different meaning, I have allowed the rest to remain as they are. (NPNF, altered.)

You urge me: this marks the beginning of Jerome's work on the Bible, which produced the version called the Vulgate.

Is there a man . . . changes or corrections therein: in a letter to Marcella (XXVII) he shows that his expectations were immediately realized; see below.

readings at variance . . . cannot be right: cf. 216 below for Socrates' criticism of Nestorius on a point of this kind.

there are almost as many forms of text: this can still be seen from the quotations made by various authors of the same passages.

Jerome, *Ep.* XXVII

Now, though I might—as far as strict right goes—treat these persons with contempt (it is idle to play the lyre for an ass), yet, lest they should follow their usual habit and reproach me with superciliousness, let them take my answer as follows: I am not so dull-witted nor so coarsely ignorant (qualities which they take for holiness, calling themselves the disciples of fishermen as if men were made holy by knowing nothing) —I am not, I repeat, so ignorant as to suppose that any of the Lord's words is either in need of correction or is not divinely inspired; but the Latin manuscripts of the Scriptures are proved to be faulty by the variations which all of them exhibit, and my object has been to restore them to the form of the Greek original, from which my detractors do not deny that they have been translated. If they dislike water drawn from the clear spring, let them drink of the muddy streamlet, and when they come to read the Scriptures let them lay aside the keen eye which they turn on woods frequented by game-birds and waters abounding in shellfish. Easily satisfied in this instance alone, let them, if they will, regard the words of Christ as rude sayings, albeit that over these so many great intellects have laboured for so many ages rather to divine than to expound the meaning of each single word. Let them charge the great apostle with want of literary skill, although it is said of him that much learning made him mad.¹ (NPNF.)

to play the lyre: a reference to the Greek proverb ὄνω λύρα.

145 The Agapetae

Jerome, *Ep.* XXII.14

I blush to speak of it, it is so shocking: yet, though sad, it is true. How comes this plague of 'dearly beloved sisters' to be in the Church? Whence come these unwedded wives, these novel concubines, these

¹ Acts 26.24

harlots, so I will call them, though they are one-man women? One house holds them and one chamber. They often occupy the same bed, and yet they call us suspicious if we fancy anything amiss. A brother leaves his virgin sister; a virgin, slighting her unmarried brother, seeks a brother in a stranger. Both alike profess to have but one object, to find spiritual consolation from those not of their kin; but their real aim is to indulge in carnal intercourse. It is on such that Solomon in the book of Proverbs heaps his scorn. *Can a man take fire in his bosom, he says, and his clothes not be burned? Can one go upon hot coals, and his feet not be burned?*¹ (NPNF, altered.)

On this problem see *NER*, p. 260n, s.v. 'subintroductae'.

146 Advice to a Virgin

1 Jerome, *Ep.* XXII.16

Do not court the company of married ladies or visit the houses of the high-born. Do not look too often on the life which you despised, to become a virgin. Women of the world, you know, plume themselves because their husbands are on the bench or in high positions. And the wife of the Emperor always has an eager throng of visitors at her door. Why do you then wrong your husband? Why do you, God's bride, hasten to visit the wife of a mere man? Learn in this respect a holy pride; know that you are better than they. And not only must you avoid intercourse with those who are puffed up because of their husband's honours, who are hedged in with troops of eunuchs, and who wear robes inwrought with threads of gold. You must also shun those who are widows from necessity and not from choice. Not that they ought to have desired the death of their husbands, but that they have not welcomed the opportunity of continence when it has come. As it is, they only change their garb; their old self-seeking remains unchanged. To see them in their capacious litters, with red cloaks and plump bodies, a row of eunuchs walking in front of them, you would fancy them not to have lost husbands but to be seeking them. Their houses are filled with flatterers and with guests. The very clergy, who ought to inspire them with respect by their teaching and authority, kiss these ladies on the forehead, and putting forth their hands (so that, if you knew no better, you might suppose them in the act of blessing), take a fee for their visits. The ladies meanwhile, seeing that priests cannot do without them, are lifted up with pride; and, as having had experience of both, they prefer the licence of widowhood to the restraints of marriage; they call themselves chaste livers and nuns. After an immoderate supper they dream about the Apostles. (NPNF, altered.)

¹ Prov. 6.26-7

2. Jerome, *Ep.* XXII.28

But I will not speak only of women. Avoid men also when you see them loaded with chains and wearing their hair long like women, contrary to the Apostle's precept, not to speak of beards like those of goats, black cloaks, and bare feet braving the cold. All these things are plain signs of the devil. Such a one Rome groaned over some time back in Antimus; and Sophronius is a still more recent instance. Such persons, when they have once gained admission to noble houses, and have deceived *silly women, laden with sins, ever learning, and never coming to knowledge of the truth*,¹ feign a sad mien, and pretend to make long fasts while at night they feast in secret. Shame forbids me to say more, for my language might appear more like invective than admonition.

There are others—I speak of those of my own order—who seek the presbyterate and the diaconate simply that they may be able to see women more freely. Such men think of nothing but their dress; they use perfumes freely—and see that there are no creases in their leather shoes. Their curling hair shows traces of the tongs; their fingers glisten with rings; they walk on tiptoe across a damp road, not to splash their feet. When you see men acting in this way, think of them rather as bridegrooms than as clergy. Certain persons have devoted the whole of their energies and life to the single object of knowing the names, houses, and characters of married ladies.

I will here briefly describe the head of the profession, that from the master's likeness you may recognize the disciples. He rises in haste with the sun; he has the order of his visits duly arranged; he takes the shortest road and, troublesome old man that he is, forces his way almost into the bedchambers of ladies yet asleep. If he sees a cushion that takes his fancy or an elegant tablecover—or, indeed, any article of household furniture—he praises it, looks admiringly at it, takes it into his hand, and complaining that he has nothing of the kind, begs or rather extorts it from the owner. All the women, in fact, fear to cross the news-carrier of the town. Chastity and fasting are alike distasteful to him. What he likes is a savoury lunch—say off a plump young bird, such as is commonly called a cheeper. In speech, he is rude and forward, and is always ready to bandy reproaches. Wherever you turn, he is the first man that you see before you. Whatever news is noised abroad, he is either the originator of the rumour or its magnifier. He changes his horses every hour; and they are so sleek that you would take him for a brother of the Thracian king. (NPNF, altered.)

We have no further information about the individual clergy attacked by Jerome.

the Thracian king: Rhesus (Homer, *Iliad*, 10, 435ff).

¹ 2 Tim. 3.6, 7

147 How Jerome was Slandered at Rome, 385

Jerome, *Ep.* XLV 2-4

Jerome wrote this letter to Asella (cf. *Ep.* XXIV) from the ship which was to carry him from Italy for ever. His association with the noble ladies at Rome had (naturally) let loose slanders against him.

- 2 I am said to be an infamous turncoat, a slippery knave, one who lies and deceives others by Satanic art. Which is the safer course, I should like to know, to invent or credit these charges against innocent persons, or to refuse to believe them, even of the guilty? Some kissed my hands, yet attacked me with the tongues of vipers; sympathy was on their lips, but malignant joy in their hearts. The Lord saw them and had them in derision,¹ reserving my poor self, his servant, and them for judgement to come. One would attack my gait or my way of laughing; another would find something amiss in my looks; another would suspect the simplicity of my manner. Such is the company in which I have lived for almost three years.

It often happened that I found myself surrounded with virgins, and to some of these I often expounded the divine books as best I could. Our studies brought about constant intercourse, this soon ripened into intimacy, and this, in turn, produced mutual confidence. If they have ever seen anything in my conduct unbecoming a Christian let them say so. Have I taken any one's money? Have I not disdained all gifts, whether small or great? Has the chink of any one's coin been heard in my hand?² Has my language been equivocal, or my eye wanton? No; my sex is my one crime, and even on this score I am not assailed save when Paula is setting out to Jerusalem. Very well, then. They believed my accuser when he lied; why do they not believe him when he retracts? He is the same man now that he was then and yet he who before declared me guilty now confesses that I am innocent. Surely a man's words under torture are more trustworthy than in moments of gaiety, except, indeed, that people are prone to believe falsehoods designed to gratify their ears, or, worse still, stories which, till then uninvented, they have urged others to invent.

- 3 Before I became acquainted with the family of the saintly Paula, all Rome resounded with my praises. Almost everyone concurred in judging me worthy of the episcopate. Damasus of blessed memory spoke no words but mine. Men called me holy, men called me humble and eloquent.

Did I ever cross the threshold of any fast female? Was I ever fascinated by silk dresses, or sparkling jewels, or a made-up face, or a display of gold? Of all the ladies in Rome but one had power to subdue me, and that one was Paula. She mourned and fasted, she was squalid

¹ Ps. 2.4² Cf. 1 Sam. 12.3

with dirt, her eyes were dim from weeping. For whole nights she would pray to the Lord for mercy, and often the rising sun found her still at her prayers. The psalms were her only songs, the Gospel her whole speech, continence her one indulgence, fasting the staple of her life. The only woman who took my fancy was one whom I have not seen at table. But when I began to revere, respect, and venerate her as her conspicuous chastity deserved, all my former virtues forsook me on the spot.

- 4 Oh! envy, that dost begin by tearing thyself! Oh! cunning malignity of Satan, that dost always persecute things holy! Of all the ladies in Rome, the only ones that caused scandal were Paula and Melanium, who, despising their wealth and deserting their children, uplifted the cross of the Lord as a standard of devotion . . .

. . . If it were Gentiles or Jews who thus assailed their mode of life, they would at least have the consolation of failing to please only those whom Christ himself has failed to please. But, shameful to say, it is Christian men who thus neglect the care of their own households, and disregarding the beams in their own eyes, look for motes in those of their neighbours.¹ They pull to pieces every profession or religion, and think that they have found a remedy for their own doom, if they can disprove the holiness of others, if they can detract from everyone, if they can show that those who perish are many, and sinners a great multitude. (NPNF, altered.)

2. *Paula going to Jerusalem*: which she did in 385, with her daughter. She lived in the Holy Land till her death in 404.

when he retracts: there may have been some sort of inquiry, at which Jerome was vindicated.

3. *worthy of the episcopate*: notwithstanding his closeness to Damasus, it is hard to credit that Jerome was ever seriously considered as his successor.

C JEROME IN EXILE IN BETHLEHEM, 385–420

148 The Ordination of Paulinian, 394

Epiphanius, *ap.* Jerome, *Ep.* LI.1–2

This passage is from a letter of Epiphanius to John, Bishop of Jerusalem. Paulinian was Jerome's brother.

- 1 [Epiphanius excuses his action in ordaining Paulinian, in an area under John's jurisdiction, on the plea of necessity.]

I saw that the monastery contained a large number of reverend brothers, and that the reverend presbyters, Jerome and Vincent, through modesty and humility, were unwilling to offer the sacrifices

¹ Matt. 7.3

permitted to their rank, and to labour in that part of their calling which ministers more than any other to the salvation of Christians. I knew, moreover, that you could not find or lay hands on this servant of God who had several times fled from you simply because he was reluctant to undertake the onerous duties of the priesthood, and that no other bishop could easily find him. Accordingly, I was a good deal surprised when, by the ordering of God, he came to me with the deacons of the monastery and others of the brethren, to make satisfaction for me for some grievance or other which I had against them. While, therefore, the Collect was being celebrated in the church of the villa which adjoins our monastery—he being quite ignorant and wholly unsuspecting of my purpose—I gave orders to a number of deacons to seize him and to stop his mouth, lest in his eagerness to free himself he might adjure me in the name of Christ. First of all, then, I ordained him deacon, setting before him the fear of God, and forcing him to minister; for he made a hard struggle against it, crying out that he was unworthy, and protesting that this heavy burden was beyond his strength. It was with difficulty, then, that I overcame his reluctance, persuading him as well as I could with passages from Scripture, and setting before him the commandments of God. And when he had ministered in the offering of the holy sacrifices, once more with great difficulty I closed his mouth and ordained him presbyter. Then, using the same arguments as before, I induced him to sit in the place set apart for the presbyters. After this I wrote to the reverend presbyters and other brothers of the monastery, chiding them for not having written to me about him. For a year before I had heard many of them complain that they had no one to celebrate for them the sacraments of the Lord. All then agreed in asking him to undertake the duty, pointing out how great his usefulness would be to the community of the monastery. I blamed them for omitting to write to me and to propose that I should ordain him, when the opportunity was given to them to do so.

- 2 All this I have done, as I said just now, relying on that Christian love which you, I feel sure, cherish towards my insignificance; not to mention the fact that I held the ordination in a monastery, and not within the limits of your jurisdiction. (NPNF.)

1. *the Collect*: i.e. the assembly for worship was gathered together.

149 A City, even Jerusalem itself, is no place for a Monk, 395

Jerome, *Ep.* LVIII.4

Why, you will say, do I make these remote allusions? To assure you that nothing is lacking to your faith although you have not seen

Jerusalem, and that I am none the better for living where I do . . . Keep out of cities, and you will never lose your vocation . . . I am speaking only to a monk who having been a man of note in the world has laid the price of his possessions at the apostles' feet, to show men that they must trample on their money, and has resolved to live a life of loneliness and seclusion, and always to continue to reject what he has once rejected. Had the scenes of the Passion and of the Resurrection been elsewhere than in a populous city with court and garrison, with prostitutes, play-actors, and buffoons, and with the medley of persons usually found in all cities; or had the crowds which thronged it been composed of monks; then a city would be a desirable abode for those who have embraced the monastic life. But, as things are, it would be the height of folly, first to renounce the world, to forswear one's country, to forsake cities, to profess oneself a monk, and then to have lived among still greater numbers the same kind of life that you would have lived in your own country. Men rush here from all quarters of the world, the city is filled with people of every race, and so great is the throng of men and women, that what you used partially to escape elsewhere, you must here put up with in its entirety. (NPNF, altered.)

these remote allusions: in the previous section Jerome had been arguing that the court of heaven lay equally open whether you are in Jerusalem or Britain, that the gate of heaven was open to Antony and multitudes of monks who had never seen Jerusalem.

a man of note: the letter is addressed to Paulinus of Nola, who came from a wealthy family in Aquitaine.

D JEROME AND ORIGEN'S THEOLOGY

150 Jerome's Early Enthusiasm for Origen, c. 384

Jerome, *Ep.* XXXII.4

[Jerome had set up a comparison between Varro and Origen, who had both left such extensive monuments of their scholarship.]

Do you see how the labours of this one man have surpassed those of all previous writers, Greek and Latin? Who has ever managed to read all that he has written? Yet what reward have his exertions brought him? He stands condemned by his bishop, Demetrius, only the bishops of Palestine, Arabia, Phoenicia, and Achaia dissenting. Rome consents to his condemnation, she convenes her senate to censure him, not—as the rabid hounds who now pursue him cry—because of the novelty or heterodoxy of his doctrines, but because men could not tolerate the incomparable eloquence and knowledge which, when once he opened his lips, made others seem dumb. (NPNF, altered.)

condemned by his bishop: for details, cf. *NER* 170–71.

she convenes her senate: no formal condemnation is necessarily implied. By *senate* Jerome means 'powerful people'; cf. his use of the 'senate of the Pharisees' for his own opponents (*ap. Rufinus, Apol. II.24*). For the condemnation of Origen at Rome, see 153 below. For other examples of Jerome's early regard for Origen, cf., for example, *Preface to the Translation of Origen's Two Homilies on the Song of Songs*, *Preface to the Translation of Origen's Homilies on Ezekiel* (*ap. Rufinus, Apol. II.13*). Both these are in NPNF, *St Jerome*, pp. 485, 502.

151 The Controversy about Origen: a Scene at Jerusalem, 394

Jerome, *Adv. Ioann. Hier.*, II

We were present (we know the whole case) when the bishop Epiphanius spoke against Origen in your (i.e. John's) church, and he (Origen) was the ostensible, you the real, object of attack. You and your crew grinned like dogs, drew in your nostrils, scratched your heads, nodded to one another, and talked of the 'silly old man'. Did you not, in front of the Lord's tomb, send your archdeacon to tell him to cease discussing such matters? What bishop ever gave such a command to one of his own presbyters in the presence of the people? When you were going from the church of the Resurrection to the church of the Holy Cross, and a crowd of all ages, and both sexes, was flowing to meet him, presenting to him their little ones, kissing his feet, plucking the fringes of his garments, and when he could not stir a step forward, and could hardly stand against the waves of the surging crowd, were not you so tortured by envy as to exclaim against 'the vainglorious old man'? And you were not ashamed to tell him to his face that his stopping was of set purpose and design. Recall, I ask you, that day when the people who had been called together were kept waiting until the afternoon by the mere hope of hearing Epiphanius, and the subject of the harangue you then delivered. You spoke, I am convinced, with indignant rage against the Anthropomorphites, who, with rustic simplicity, think that God has actually the members of which we read in Scripture; and showed by your eyes, hands, and every gesture that you had the old man in view, and wished him to be suspected of that most foolish heresy. When through sheer fatigue, with dry mouth, head thrown back, and quivering lips, to the satisfaction of the whole people, who had longed for the end, you at last wound up, how did the crazy and 'silly old man' treat you? He rose to indicate that he would say a few words and after saluting the assembly with voice and hand proceeded thus: 'All that has been said by one who is my brother in the episcopate, but my son in points of years, against the heresy of the Anthropomorphites, has been well and

faithfully spoken, and my voice, too, condemns that heresy. But it is fair that, as we condemn this heresy, so we should also condemn the perverse doctrines of Origen.' You cannot, I think, have forgotten what a burst of laughter, what shouts of applause ensued. This is what you call in your letter his speaking to the people anything he chose, no matter what it might be. He, I am convinced, simply had to be mad because he contradicted you in your own kingdom. (NPNF, altered.)

Epiphanius, see p. 388 and 152 below.

silly old man: Epiphanius was born about 315.

152 The False Teaching Ascribed to Origen, c. 396

Jerome, *Adv. Ioann. Hier.*, 7

Jerome alleges that John, bishop of Jerusalem, had failed to answer charges of Origenism made against him by Epiphanius of Salamis in Cyprus, listed under the eight heads given as follows:

The questions relate to the passages in Origen's work, *On First Principles*.

The first is this: 'for as it is unfitting to say that the Son can see the Father, so neither is it fitting to think that the Holy Spirit can see the Son.'

The second point is the statement that souls are tied up in the body as in a prison; and that, before man was made in Paradise, they dwelt among rational creatures in the heavens. Wherefore afterwards, to console itself, the soul says in the Psalms, *Before I was humbled, I went wrong*,¹ and *Return, my soul, to thy rest*,² and *Lead my soul out of prison*:³ and similarly elsewhere.

Thirdly, he says that both the devil and demons will some time or other repent, and ultimately reign with the saints.

Fourthly, he interprets the coats of skins, with which Adam and Eve were clothed after their fall and ejection from Paradise, to be human bodies, and we are to suppose, of course, that previously in Paradise they had neither flesh, sinews nor bones.

Fifthly, he most openly denies the resurrection of the flesh and the bodily structure and the distinction of sexes . . .

Sixthly, he so allegorizes Paradise as to destroy historical truth, understanding angels instead of trees, heavenly virtues instead of rivers, and he overthrows all that is contained in the history of Paradise by his figurative interpretation.

¹ Ps. 119.67

² Ps. 116.7

³ Ps. 142.7

Seventhly, he thinks that the waters which are said in Scripture to be above the heavens are holy and supernal essences, while those which are above the earth and beneath the earth are, on the contrary, demoniacal essences.

The eighth is Origen's cavil that the image and likeness of God in which man was created, was lost, and was no longer in man after he was expelled from Paradise. (NPNF.)

153 Condemnation of Origen at Rome, 400

Anastasius, bishop of Rome, *ap.* Jerome, *Ep.* XCV.1-2

- 1 [Anastasius praises Theophilus of Alexandria, who 'ceases not to watch over the things that make for salvation', for his vigilance in counteracting the blasphemies of Origen.]
- 2 Being informed then by a letter of the aforesaid bishop I am informing your Holiness that we in like manner, who are set in the city of Rome in which the prince of the Apostles, the glorious Peter, first founded the Church and then by his faith strengthened it, to the end that no man may, contrary to the commandment, read those books which we have mentioned, and condemned; and †have, with earnest prayers, urged the strict observance of the precepts which God and Christ have inspired the Evangelists to teach.† We have charged men to remember the words of the venerable Apostle Paul, prophetic and full of warning: *If any man preach any other Gospel unto you than that which we have preached unto you, let him be accursed.*¹ Holding fast, therefore, this precept, we have intimated that everything written in former days by Origen that is contrary to our faith is also rejected and condemned by us. (NPNF, altered.)

Anastasius is writing to Simplician of Milan.

† . . . †: Some words appear to have dropped out of the Latin.

154 Socrates' Defence of Origen

Socrates, *HE*, VI.13

- 1 But since carping detractors have imposed upon many persons and have succeeded in deterring them from reading Origen, as though he
- 2 were blasphemous, I think it not inopportune to make a few observations respecting them. Worthless characters, and such as are destitute of ability to attain eminence themselves, often seek to get into
- 3 notice by decrying those who excel them. First of these Methodius,

¹ Gal. 1.8

bishop of a city in Lycia named Olympus, laboured under this malady; next Eustathius, who for a short time presided over the Church at
 4 Antioch; after him Apollinarius; and lastly Theophilus. This quaternion of revilers has traduced Origen, but not on the same grounds, one having found one cause of accusation against him, and another another; and thus each has demonstrated that what he has
 5 taken no objection to, he has fully accepted. For since one has attacked one opinion in particular, and another has found fault with another, it is evident that each has admitted as true what he has not assailed,
 6 giving a tacit approbation to what he has not attacked. Methodius indeed, when he had in various places railed against Origen, afterwards as if retracting all he had previously said, expresses his
 7 admiration of the man, in a dialogue which he entitled *Xenon*. But I affirm that from the censure of these men, greater commendation
 8 accrues to Origen. For those who have sought out whatever they deemed worthy of reprobation in him, and yet have never charged him with holding unsound views respecting the Holy Trinity, are in this way most distinctly shown to bear witness to his correct and pious belief; and by not reproaching him on this point, they commend him by
 9 their own testimony. But Athanasius the defender of the doctrine of consubstantiality, in his *Discourses against the Arians*, continually cites this author as a witness of his own faith, interweaving his words with
 10 his own, and saying, 'The most admirable and assiduous Origen', says he, 'by his own testimony confirms our doctrine concerning the Son of
 11 God, affirming him to be coeternal with the Father.' Those therefore who load Origen with opprobrium, overlook the fact that their maledictions fall at the same time on Athanasius, the eulogist of
 12 Origen. So much for Origen. (NPNF, altered.)

On the criticisms to which Origen's teaching was subjected, see, for example, *DCB*, s.v. Origenistic Controversies, and 152 above.

3. *Methodius*: d. (?) c. 311: for the little known about his life, see, for example, H. Musurillo, *St Methodius, The Symposium* (ACW XXVII), pp. 3-5.

Eustathius: bishop of Antioch from 325 to 330 (?): cf. Sellers, *Eustathius of Antioch*, pp. 32-3, 75ff. Sellers thinks that Socrates does Eustathius 'a gross injustice'.

Apollinarius: see 70, 71, 93 above; cf. C. E. Raven, *Apollinarianism*, pp. 131, 159-60.

Theophilus: see 153 above.

6. *Xenon*: cf. Musurillo, op. cit., p. 9. Xenon is the name of the defender of Origen, whom Methodius is attacking. But only fragments of this work survive.

9. *continually cites this author*: the quotation given by Socrates is reminiscent of *De Decretis Synodi Nicaeni*, 27.

E ROME FROM AFAR

155 The Propositions of Jovinian, c. 391

Jerome, *Adv. Jovinianum*, I.3

Jovinian had been a monk, but had deserted his monastery at Milan. He became a leader of the reaction against asceticism in the West, and was condemned by Siricius, by Ambrose, and by Jerome, whose two books against him are a reply to a work that Jovinian himself had written.

He says that 'virgins, widows, and married women, who have been once washed in Christ, if they do not differ in other respects, are of equal merit'.

He endeavours to show 'that they who, with full assurance of faith, have been born again in baptism, cannot be overthrown by the devil'.

His third proposition is, 'that there is no difference between abstinence from food and its reception with thanksgiving'.

The fourth and last is, 'that there is one reward in the kingdom of heaven for all who have kept their baptismal vow'. (NPNF, altered.)

To these four propositions a fifth can be added from Ambrose's account of the council at Milan (c. 393) that condemned Jovinian, namely the denial of the perpetual virginity of the Virgin (Ambrose, *Ep.* XLII.4,6).

156 The Penance and Charity of Fabiola (d. 399)

Jerome, *Ep.* LXXVII.2-10

- 2-3 [Fabiola had divorced her first husband and married again, and even Jerome inclined to excuse the second marriage *in her case*. On the death of her second husband she did penance for her second marriage.]

- 4 But why do I linger over old and forgotten matters, seeking to excuse a fault for which Fabiola has herself confessed her penitence? Who would believe that, after the death of her second husband at a time when widows, having shaken off the yoke of servitude, grow careless and allow themselves more liberty, frequenting the baths, flitting through the streets, showing their harlot faces everywhere, that at this time Fabiola came to herself? Yet it was then that she put on sackcloth and made public confession of her error. It was then that in the presence of all Rome on the eve of the Passover (in the basilica which formerly belonged to that Lateranus who perished by the sword of Caesar) she stood in the ranks of the penitents and exposed before bishops, presbyters, and people—all of whom wept when they saw her weep—her dishevelled hair, pale features, soiled hands, and dust-stained neck. What sins would such lamentation fail to purge away?

What ingrained stains would such tears be unable to wash out? . . .

- 5 But this one thing I will say, for it is at once useful to my readers and pertinent to my present theme. As Fabiola was not ashamed of the Lord on earth, so he shall not be ashamed of her in heaven.¹ She laid bare her wound to the gaze of all, and Rome beheld with tears the disfiguring scar which marred her beauty. She uncovered her limbs, bared her head, and closed her mouth. She no longer entered the church of God but, like Miriam the sister of Moses,² she sat apart without the camp, till the priest who had cast her out should himself call her back. She came down like the daughter of Babylon from the throne of her daintiness, she took the millstones and ground meal, she passed bare-footed through rivers of tears.³ She sat upon the coals of fire, and these became her aid.⁴ That face by which she had once pleased her second husband she now smote with blows; she hated jewels, shunned ornaments, and could not bear to look upon fine linen. In fact she bewailed the sin she had committed as bitterly as if it had been adultery, and went to the expense of many remedies in her eagerness to cure her one wound . . .

- 6 Restored to communion before the eyes of the whole church, what did she do? Did she forget her sorrows in the day of happiness, and having once suffered shipwreck did she again wish to face the risks of the sea? Instead therefore of re-embarking on her old life, she broke up and sold all that she could lay hands on of her property (it was large and suitable to her rank), and turning it into money she laid this out for the benefit of the poor. First of all she founded a hospital, into which she might gather sufferers out of the streets, and where she might nurse the unfortunate victims of sickness and want.

[Jerome lists the shocking types of illness that Fabiola succoured.]

I know of many wealthy and devout persons who, unable to overcome their natural repugnance to such sights, perform this work of mercy by the agency of others, giving money instead of personal aid. I do not blame them and am far from construing their weakness of resolution into a want of faith. While, however, I pardon such squeamishness, I extol to the skies the enthusiastic zeal of a mind that is above it . . .

Not with a hundred tongues or throat of bronze
Could I exhaust the forms of fell disease,⁵

which Fabiola so wonderfully alleviated in the suffering poor that many of the healthy fell to envying the sick. However, she showed the same liberality towards the clergy and monks and virgins. Was there a monastery which was not supported by Fabiola's wealth? Was there a naked or bedridden person who was not clothed with garments

¹ Luke 9.26

² Num. 12.14

³ Isa. 47.1-2

⁴ Isa. 47.14

⁵ Virgil, *Aen.* 6.625-7

supplied by her? Were there ever any in want to whom she failed to give a quick and unhesitating supply? Even Rome was not wide enough for her pity. Either in her own person or else through the agency of faithful and holy men she went from island to island and carried her bounty not only round the Etruscan Sea, but throughout the district of the Volscians, along those secluded and curving shores where communities of monks are to be found.

7-9 [Fabiola then visited the Holy Land but returned to Rome to escape a barbarian invasion. Her final example of good works was the establishment in company with Pammachius of a hostel for strangers at Portus Romanus.]

10 He and Fabiola contended for the privilege of setting up a tent at Portus like that of Abraham. The contest which arose between them was for the supremacy in showing kindness. Each conquered and each was overcome. Both admitted to be at once victors and vanquished; for what each had desired to effect alone both accomplished together. They untied their resources and combined their plans that harmony might forward what rivalry must have brought to nought. No sooner said than done! A house was purchased to serve as a hostel and a crowd flocked into it. *There was no more travail in Jacob nor distress in Israel.*¹ The seas carried voyagers to find a welcome here on landing. Travellers left Rome in haste to take advantage of the mild coast before setting sail. What Publius once did in the island of Malta for one apostle and—not to leave room for gainsaying—for a single ship's crew, Fabiola and Pammachius have done over and over again for large numbers; and not only have they supplied the wants of the destitute, but so universal has been their munificence that they have provided additional means for those who have something already. The whole world knows that a home for strangers has been established at Portus. (NPNF, altered, with acknowledgements to the translation of F. A. Wright in the Loeb Library.)

4. *on the eve of the Passover*: when penitents were restored.

in the basilica of that Lateranus: now San Giovanni in Laterano, the cathedral of Rome.

by Caesar's sword: under Nero, after the conspiracy of Piso.

10. *tent of Abraham*: i.e. a place of hospitality; cf. Gen. 18.1-8, and Jerome, Ep. LXVI.11 (addressed to Pammachius, c. 397).

hostel for strangers: ξενοδοχεῖον.

157 Marcella, d. 410

Jerome, Ep. CXXVII.5,7,8-10, 12-14

This letter, written after Marcella's death, is an account of her life. She was a noble Roman lady and one of the foremost sponsors of the ascetic life in the

¹ Num. 23.21 LXX

West. On Marcella and the other Roman ladies mentioned in this letter see, for example, F. A. Wright, *On Jerome's correspondence with Roman women*, in Jerome, *Select letters*, Appendix (Loeb Library), pp. 483–97.

- 5 In those days, no high-born lady at Rome had made profession of the monastic life, or had ventured—so strange and ignominious and degrading did it then seem—publicly to call herself a nun. It was from some priests of Alexandria, and from Pope Athanasius, and subsequently from Peter, who, to escape the persecution of the Arian heretics, had all fled for refuge to Rome as the safest haven in which they could find communion—it was from these that Marcella heard of the life of the blessed Antony, then still alive, and of the monasteries in the Thebaid founded by Pachomius, and of the discipline laid down for virgins and for widows. Nor was she ashamed to profess a life which she had thus learned to be pleasing to Christ. Many years after, her example was followed first by Sophronia and then by others . . . My revered friend Paula was blessed with Marcella's friendship, and it was in Marcella's cell that Eustochium, that paragon of virgins, was gradually trained. Thus it is easy to see of what type the mistress was who found such pupils . . .
- 7 When the needs of the Church at length brought me to Rome in company with the reverend pontiffs, Paulinus and Epiphanius—the first of whom ruled the Church of the Syrian Antioch while the second presided over that of Salamis in Cyprus—I in my modesty was for avoiding the eyes of high-born ladies, yet she pleaded so earnestly, *both in season and out of season*, as the apostle says,¹ that at last her perseverance overcame my reluctance. And as in those days my name was held in some renown as that of a student of the Scriptures, she never came to see me that she did not ask me some question concerning them, nor would she at once acquiesce in my explanations but on the contrary would dispute them; not, however, for argument's sake but to learn the answers to those objections which might, as she saw, be made to my statements. How much virtue and ability, how much holiness and purity I found in her, I am afraid to say; both lest I may exceed the bounds of men's belief and lest I may increase your sorrow by reminding you of the blessings that you have lost. This much only will I say, that whatever in me was the fruit of long study and as such made by constant meditation a part of my nature, this she tasted, this she learned and made her own. Consequently, after my departure from Rome, in case of a dispute arising as to the testimony of Scripture on any subject, recourse was had to her to settle it.
- 8 I am told that my place with her was immediately taken by you, that you attached yourself to her, and that, as the saying goes, you never let even a hair's breadth come between her and you. You both lived in the

¹ 2 Tim. 4.2

same house and occupied the same room so that everyone in the capital knew for certain that you had found a mother in her and she a daughter in you. In the suburbs you found for yourself a monastic seclusion, and chose the country instead of the town because of its loneliness. For a long time you lived together, and as many ladies shaped their conduct by your examples, I had the joy of seeing Rome transformed into another Jerusalem. Monastic establishments for virgins became numerous, and of hermits there were countless numbers. In fact so many were the servants of God that monasticism which had before been a term of reproach became subsequently one of honour.

- 9 While Marcella was thus serving the Lord in this tranquillity, there arose in these provinces a tornado of heresy which threw everything into confusion; indeed so great was the fury into which it lashed itself that it spared neither itself nor anything that was good. And as if it were too little to have disturbed everything here, it introduced a ship freighted with blasphemies into the port of Rome itself. The dish soon found itself a cover; and the muddy feet of heretics fouled the clean waters of the faith of Rome . . . Next came the scandalous version of Origen's book *On First Principles*, and that disciple appeared, whose fortune would have corresponded to his name had he never fallen in with such a master. Next followed the confutation set forth by my supporters, which destroyed the case of the Pharisees and threw them into confusion. It was then that the holy Marcella, who had long held back lest she should be thought to act from party motives, threw herself into the breach. Conscious that the faith of Rome—once praised by an Apostle¹—was now in danger in many particulars, and that this new heresy was drawing to itself not only priests and monks but above all many of the laity, besides imposing on the simplicity of the bishop, who judged others by himself, she publicly withstood its teachers, choosing to please God rather than men.²
- 10 . . . The Heretics . . . asked for and obtained letters of commendation from the Church, so that it might appear that until the day of their departure they had continued in full communion. Shortly afterwards the distinguished Anastasius succeeded to the pontificate; but Rome was not privileged to have him long, for it was not fitting that the head of the world should be struck off during the episcopate of one so noble. He was removed, no doubt, that he might not seek to turn away by his prayers the sentence of God passed once for all. You will say, What has this to do with the praises of Marcella? I reply, She it was who originated the condemnation of the heretics. She it was who furnished witnesses first taught by them, witnesses who had seen the error of their heretical teaching. She it was who showed how large a number

¹ Rom. 1.8² Acts 5.29

- they had deceived, and who brought up against them the impious
 11-12 books *On First Principles*, books which were passed around after being
 'emended' by the hand of the scorpion . . .
 [While this was happening, the fall of Rome, with its attendant horrors,
 took place (in 410), see 158 below.]
- 13 Meanwhile, as was natural in a scene of such confusion, the
 bloodstained victors found their way into Marcella's house. When the
 soldiers entered, she is said to have received them fearlessly; and when
 they asked her for gold, she pointed to her coarse dress to show them
 that she had no buried treasure. However, they would not believe in
 her self-chosen poverty, but scourged her and beat her with cudgels.
 She is said to have felt no pain, but to have thrown herself at their feet
 and to have pleaded with tears for you, that you might not be taken
 from her, or owing to your youth have to endure what she as an old
 woman had no occasion to fear. Christ softened their hard hearts, and
 even among bloodstained swords natural affection asserted its right.
 The barbarians conveyed both you and her to the basilica of the
 blessed Paul, that you might find there either a place of safety, or, if not
 that, at least a tomb . . .
- 14 After a few months, she fell asleep in the Lord, having retained her
 powers of mind and body unimpaired. (NPNF, altered.)

5. *some presbyters of Alexandria, etc.*: Isidore and Ammon, both monks,
 accompanied Athanasius to Rome.

Athanasius was in Rome in 341; *Peter*, his successor at Alexandria, from 374
 to 378.

then still alive: Antony died in 355, and so the reference cannot apply to
 Peter.

7. *brought me to Rome*: in 382.

Paulinus: bishop of the Eustathian Church at Antioch, cf. 80, 81, 143 above,
 204 below.

Epiphanius: bishop of Salamis in Cyprus, cf. 148, 151 above.

8. *you*: Principia, to whom this letter is addressed.

9. *freighted with blasphemies*: cf. Rufinus *Apol.* I.11.

found itself a cover: 'like met like', cf. Jerome, *Ep.* VII.5

Origen's book: on the Origenistic controversy see 150-52, 154 above, and,
 for example, Wright, *op. cit.*, Appendix II, pp. 498-502; Fliche et Martin,
Histoire de l'Eglise, IV, ch. 2, *Saint Jérôme et l'Origenisme*.

that disciple appeared: Macarius (blessed), to whom Rufinus dedicated his
 version.

the simplicity of the bishop: Siricius (384-98).

10. *Anastasius* was bishop of Rome from 398 to 402.

the scorpion: Rufinus.

158 Jerome and the Fall of Rome, 410

Jerome, *Ep.* 127, 11 and 12

- 11 The whirlwind passed from the West into the East, and threatened utter shipwreck to many . . .

While these things were taking place in Jebus, a dreadful rumour reached us from the West. We heard that Rome was besieged, that the citizens were buying their safety with gold, and that when they had been thus despoiled they were again beleaguered, so as to lose not only their substance but their lives. The speaker's voice failed and sobs interrupted his utterance. The city which had taken the whole world was itself taken; nay, it fell by famine before it fell by the sword, and there were but a few found to be made prisoners. The rage of hunger had recourse to impious food; men tore one another's limbs, and the mother did not spare her baby at her breast, taking again within her body that which her body had just brought forth. *'In the night was Moab taken, in the night did her wall fall down.'* *'O God, the heathen have come into thine inheritance; thy holy temple have they defiled; they have made Jerusalem an orchard. The dead bodies of thy servants have they given to be meat unto the fowls of the heaven, the flesh of thy saints unto the beasts of the earth. Their blood have they shed like water round about Jerusalem; and there was none to bury them.'*²

'Who can tell that night of havoc, who can shed enough of tears For those deaths? The ancient city that for many a hundred years Ruled the world comes down in ruin: corpses lie in every street And men's eyes in every household death in countless phases meet.'³

Meanwhile, as you might expect in such a turmoil, the blood-stained conquerors burst their way into Marcella's house. (NPNF.)

Jebus: the Canaanite name for Jerusalem.

Jerome's anguish at the fall of Rome to Alaric the Visigoth (24 August 410) is repeated in *Ep.*, 123, 16 and 128, 5, and the Preface to his *Commentary on Ezekiel* (*Praefatio*, 3). For all his failings he was a genuine Roman patriot. For another provincial's cooler and more dispassionate appraisal of the event, see Augustine, 177 below. Jerome's quotation from Virgil in his moment of despair is also interesting (see 156 above).

159 Jerome as a Supporter of Popular Piety in the West, 406

Jerome, *Against Vigilantius*, 4–5, 7–9

- 4 But Gaul supports a native foe, and sees seated in the Church a man who has lost his head and who ought to be put in the strait-jacket

¹ Isa. 15.1² Ps. 129.3³ Virgil, *Aen.*, 2.361–5 and 369

which Hippocrates recommended. Among other blasphemies, he may be heard to say, 'What need is there for you not only to pay such honour, not to say adoration, to the thing, whatever it may be, which you carry about in a little vessel and worship?' And again, in the same book, 'Why do you kiss and adore a bit of powder wrapped up in a cloth?' And again, in the same book, 'Under the cloak of religion we see what is all but a heathen ceremony introduced into the churches: while the sun is still shining, heaps of tapers are lighted, and everywhere a paltry bit of powder, wrapped up in a costly cloth, is kissed and worshipped. Great honour do men of this sort pay to the blessed martyrs, who, they think, are to be made glorious by trumpery tapers, when the Lamb who is in the midst of the throne, with all the brightness of His majesty, gives them light?'

5 Madman, who in the world ever adored the martyrs? who ever thought man was God? Did not Paul and Barnabas, when the people of Lycaonia thought them to be Jupiter and Mercury, and would have offered sacrifices to them, rend their clothes and declare they were men?¹ Not that they were not better than Jupiter and Mercury, who were but men long ago dead, but because, under the mistaken ideas of the Gentiles, the honour due to God was being paid to them.

7 As to the question of tapers, however, we do not, as you in vain, misrepresent us, light them in the daytime, but by their solace we would cheer the darkness of the night, and watch for the dawn, lest we should be blind like you and sleep in darkness. And if some persons, being ignorant and simple minded laymen, or, at all events, religious women—of whom we can truly say, 'I allow that they have a zeal for God, but not according to knowledge'²—adopt the practice in honour of the martyrs, what harm is thereby done to you? Once upon a time even the Apostles pleaded that the ointment was wasted, but they were rebuked by the voice of the Lord.³ Christ did not need the ointment, nor do martyrs need the light of tapers; and yet that woman poured out the ointment in honour of Christ, and her heart's devotion was accepted. All those who light these tapers have their reward according to their faith, as the Apostle says: '*Let every one abound in his own meaning.*'⁴ Do you call men of this sort idolaters? I do not deny that all of us who believe in Christ have passed from the error of idolatry. For we are not born Christians, but become Christians by being born again. And because we formerly worshipped idols, does it follow that we ought not now to worship God lest we seem to pay like honour to him and to idols? In the one case respect was paid to idols, and therefore the ceremony is to be abhorred; in the other the martyrs are venerated, and the same ceremony is therefore to be allowed.

¹ Acts 14.11–16 ² Rom. 10.2 ³ Matt. 26.8; Mark 14.4

⁴ Rom. 14.5: '*Let each man be fully assured in his own mind*' (RV)

Throughout the whole Eastern Church, even when there are no relics of the martyrs, whenever the Gospel is to be read the candles are lighted, although the dawn may be reddening the sky, not of course to scatter the darkness, but by way of evidencing our joy. And accordingly the virgins in the Gospel always have their lamps lighted.¹ And the Apostles are told to have their loins girded, and their lamps burning in their hands.² And of John Baptist we read, "*He was the lamp that burneth and shineth*"³; so that, under the figure of corporeal light, that light is represented of which we read in the Psalter, "*Thy word is a lamp unto my feet. O Lord, and a light unto my paths.*"⁴

- 8 Does the bishop of Rome do wrong when he offers sacrifices to the Lord over the venerable bones of the dead men Peter and Paul, as we should say, but according to you, over a worthless bit of dust, and judges their tombs worthy to be Christ's altars? And not only is the bishop of one city in error, but the bishops of the whole world, who, despite the tavern-keeper Vigilantius, enter the basilicas of the dead, in which 'a worthless bit of dust and ashes lies wrapped up in a cloth,' defiled and defiling all else. Thus, according to you, the sacred buildings are like the sepulchres of the Pharisees, whitened without, while within they have filthy remains, and are full of foul smells and uncleanness. And then he dares to expectorate his filth upon the subject and to say: 'Is it the case that the souls of the martyrs love their ashes, and hover round them, and are always present, lest haply if any one come to pray and they were absent, they could not hear?' Oh, monster, who ought to be banished to the ends of the earth! do you laugh at the relics of the martyrs, and in company with Eunomius, the father of this heresy, slander the Churches of Christ? Are you not afraid of being in such company, and of speaking against us the same things which he utters against the Church? For all his followers refuse to enter the basilicas of Apostles and martyrs, so that, forsooth, they may worship the dead Eunomius, whose books they consider are of more authority than the Gospels; and they believe that the light of truth was in him, just as other heretics maintain that the Paraclete came into Montanus, and say that Manichaeus himself was the Paraclete. You cannot find an occasion of boasting even in supposing that you are the inventor of a new kind of wickedness, for your heresy long ago broke out against the Church. It found, however, an opponent in Tertullian, a very learned man, who wrote a famous treatise which he called most correctly *Scorpiacum*, because, as the scorpion bends itself like a bow to inflict its wound, so what was formerly called the heresy of Cain pours poison into the body of the Church; it has slept or rather been buried for a long time, but has been now awakened by Dormitantius. I am surprised you do not tell us that there must upon

¹ Matt. 25.1² Luke 12.35³ John 5.35⁴ Ps. 119.105

no account be martyrdoms, inasmuch as God, who does not ask for the blood of goats and bulls, much less requires the blood of men. This is what you say, or rather, even if you do not say it, you are taken as meaning to assert it. For in maintaining that the relics of the martyrs are to be trodden under foot, you forbid the shedding of their blood as being worthy of no honour.

- 9 Respecting vigils and the frequent keeping of night-watches in the basilicas of the martyrs, I have given a brief reply in another letter which, about two years ago I wrote to the reverend presbyter Riparius. You argue that they ought to be abjured, lest we seem to be often keeping Easter, and appear not to observe the customary yearly vigils. If so, then sacrifices should not be offered to Christ on the Lord's day lest we frequently keep the Easter of our Lord's Resurrection, and introduce the custom of having many Easters instead of one. We must not, however, impute to pious men the faults and errors of youths and worthless women such as are often detected at night. It is true that, even at the Easter vigils, something of the kind usually comes to light; but the faults of a few form no argument against religion in general, and such persons, without keeping vigil, can go wrong either in their own houses or in those of other people. The treachery of Judas did not annul the loyalty of the Apostles. And if others keep vigil badly, our vigils are not thereby to be stopped; nay, rather let those who sleep to gratify their lust be compelled to watch that they may preserve their chastity. For if a thing once done be good, it cannot be bad if often done; and if there is some fault to be avoided, the blame lies not in its being done often, but in its being done at all. And so we should not watch at Easter-tide, for fear that adulterers may satisfy their long pent-up desires, or that the wife may find an opportunity for sinning without having the key turned against her by her husband. The occasions which seldom recur are those which are most eagerly longed for. (NPNF.)

This extract is a good example of Jerome's invective against opponents, written in heat during a single night. It shows also the growth of popular Christian piety in Gaul on the eve of the great barbarian invasions that contributed to the survival of Catholic Christianity in Gaul (in contrast to Britain where no similar movement is discernible).

8. *Eunomius*: Bishop of Cyzicus 359–60. Resigned owing to his Anomoean-Arian views; d. c. 395. His views were opposed by Gregory of Nyssa's *Contra Eunomium* written c. 382 and by Basil of Caesarea.

Montanus: see *NER*, pp. 102–3.

Manichaeus (Mani): see 55 and *NER*, p. 379.

Tertullian: see *NER*, p. 382.

Dormitanti: i.e. *Vigilanti*!

Scorpiacum: i.e. antidote to the scorpion's bite. 9. *Riparius*: the presbyter who had first reported *Vigilanti*'s views to Jerome in c. 404. Jerome's *Ep.* 109 is a reply. See J. N. D. Kelly, *Jerome* (1975), pp. 286–90.

F SUMMING UP

160 Palladius on Jerome and Rufinus

1 Palladius, *Lausiac History*, XXXVI.6–7

I knew also the following prophecy spoken by this man (Posidonius). A certain Jerome, a presbyter, who used to dwell in these parts, distinguished Latin writer and cultivated scholar as he was, showed qualities of temper so disastrous that they threw into the shade his splendid achievements. Well, Posidonius, who had lived with him many days, said in my ear: 'The noble Paula, who looks after him, will die first and be freed from his bad temper, so I think. And because of this man no holy man will dwell in these parts, but his envy will include even his own brother.' The thing happened as he said. For, in fact, he drove out the blessed Oxyperentius the Italian, and another man Peter, an Egyptian, and Simeon, admirable men, whom I noticed with approval at the time. (W. K. Lowther Clarke, *The Lausiac History of Palladius*, p. 126, altered.)

Paula died in 404, Jerome in 420.

2 Ibid, XLVI.5

With her, i.e. Melania, lived also the most noble Rufinus, from Italy, of the city of Aquileia, a man similar to her in character and very steadfast, who was afterwards judged worthy of the priesthood. A more learned man or a kinder than he was not to be found among men. (W. K. Lowther Clarke, *op. cit.*, p. 148, altered.)

'Palladius' estimate of Rufinus is a valuable pendant to St Jerome's'. (C. Butler, *The Lausiac History of Palladius*, II, p. 224.)

Melania (the elder) established a community on the Mount of Olives, c. 375.

17 Augustine

A THE SEARCH FOR WISDOM

161 Augustine: the *Hortensius* of Cicero and the Christian Scriptures

Augustine, *Confessions*, III.3.6—5.9

- 6 [Augustine is looking back on his life at Carthage as a student, where he enjoyed the distinction he gained, but disapproved of the ragging of freshmen (*ignoti*) by those known as 'the wreckers' (*eversores*).]
- 7 Among such as these, in that unsettled age of mine, I learned books of eloquence, wherein I desired to be eminent, from a damnable and vainglorious aim, a joy in human vanity. In the ordinary course of study, I fell upon a certain book of one Cicero, whose speech almost all admire, though not his heart. This book of his contains an exhortation to philosophy, and is called *Hortensius*. But this book altered my affections, and turned my prayers to thyself, O Lord; and made me have other purposes and desires. Every vain hope at once became worthless to me and I longed with an incredibly burning desire for the immortality of wisdom, and began now to rise, that I might return to thee. For not to sharpen my tongue, (which thing I seemed to be purchasing with my mother's allowances, in that my nineteenth year, my father having died two years before), not to sharpen my tongue did I use that book; nor had it persuaded me to accept its style, but its matter.
- 8 How did I burn then, my God, how did I burn to fly back from earthly things to thee, nor did I know what thou wouldst do with me! For with thee is wisdom. But the love of wisdom is in Greek called 'philosophy', with which that book inflamed me. Some there be that seduce through philosophy, under a great, and fair, and honourable name colouring and disguising their own errors: and almost all who in Cicero's time and in former ages were such, are in that book censured and set forth: there also is made plain that wholesome advice of thy Spirit, by thy good and devout servant; *Beware lest any man spoil you through philosophy and vain deceit, after the tradition of men, after the rudiments of the world, and not after Christ. For in him dwelleth all the fullness of the Godhead bodily.*¹ And since at that time (thou, O light of my heart, knowest) Apostolic Scripture was not known to me, I was delighted with that exhortation so far only that I was thereby strongly

¹ Col.2.8.9

roused, and kindled, and inflamed to love, and seek, and obtain, and hold and embrace not this or that sect, but wisdom itself whatever it were; and this alone checked me thus enkindled, that the name of Christ was not in it. For this name, according to thy mercy, O Lord, this name of my Saviour thy Son, had my tender heart, even with my mother's milk, devoutly drunk in, and deeply treasured, and whatsoever was without the name, though never so learned, polished, or true, did not take entire hold of me.

- 9 I resolved then to bend my mind to the holy Scriptures that I might see what they were. But behold, I see a thing not understood by the proud nor laid open to children, lowly as one enters, as one advances lofty, and veiled with mysteries; and I was not such as could enter into it, or stoop my neck to follow its steps. For not as I now speak, did I feel when I turned to those Scriptures; but they seemed to me unworthy to be compared to the stateliness of Ciceronian eloquence: for my swelling pride shrank from their lowliness, nor could my sharp wit pierce the interior thereof. Yet were they such as would grow up with little ones. But I disdained to be a little one, and swollen with pride, took myself to be a great one. (LF, altered.)

one Cicero: 'A strange way for Augustine to allude to Cicero with whose writings he was so familiar . . . It is hardly likely that the mere name of Cicero would be unfamiliar to any of his readers . . . but probably this distant method of reference was a concession to those Christians who would have banished the very names of heathen writers from the Church' (Gibb and Montgomery, *The Confessions of St Augustine, ad loc.*).

Hortensius: no longer extant, but quoted by Lactantius and Augustine. In this work Cicero defended, against his friend Hortensius, the study of philosophy as against that of oratory. Full surviving extracts from Augustine's writings have been published by H. Hagendahl (*Augustine and the Latin Classics*, Göteborg 1967.)

unworthy to be compared, etc.: this was a difficulty in the early centuries both to Christians and pagans: cf., for example, Jerome in 144 above.

162 Why Manichaeism attracted Augustine

Augustine, *Confessions*, III.7.12.

For other than this, that which really is I knew not; and was, as it were through sharpness of wit, persuaded to assent to foolish deceivers, when they asked me, 'whence is evil?'¹ 'is God bounded by a bodily shape, and has hairs and nails?' 'are they to be esteemed righteous, who had many wives at once, and did kill men, and sacrificed living creatures?' At which I, in my ignorance, was much troubled, and departing from the truth, seemed to myself to be making towards it; because as yet I knew not that evil was nothing but a privation of good, until at last a thing ceases altogether to be; which how should I see, the

sight of whose eyes reached only to bodies, and of my mind to a phantasm? And I knew not *God to be a Spirit*, not One who hath parts extended in length and breadth, or whose being was bulk; for every bulk is less in a part, than in the whole: and if it be infinite, it must be less in such part as is defined by a certain space, than in its infinitude; and so is not wholly every where, as spirit as God. And what that should be in us, by which we were like to God, and might in Scripture be rightly said to be *after the Image of God*, I was altogether ignorant. (Tr. E.B. Pusey (Everyman's library), pp.40.41.)

Augustine was fascinated by the problem of evil and continued to be throughout his life. In a work written at Cassiciacum in the winter 386–7 he explained to his friend Evodius how the Manichaean answer to the problem of evil played a key role in attracting him to the sect (*De libero Arbitrio*, 1.1.4). In addition, Manichaeism offered him Christianity without the Old Testament, which at this stage of his life he found repugnant.

163 Augustine and Ambrose, 385–6

Augustine, *Confessions*, V.13.23—14.25

- 23 [Augustine had been teaching rhetoric at Rome, and while there was appointed to the position of public teacher of rhetoric at Milan.] I came to Milan and to Ambrose the bishop, known to the whole world as among the best of men, thy devout servant; whose eloquent discourse did then plentifully dispense unto thy people the flour of thy wheat, the gladness of thy oil, and the 'sober inebriation' of thy wine.¹ To him was I unknowingly led by thee, that by him I might knowingly be led to thee. That man of God received me as a father, and approved of my coming with episcopal kindness. Thenceforth I began to love him, at first indeed not as a teacher of the truth (which I utterly despaired of in thy Church), but as a person kind towards myself. I listened diligently to him preaching to the people, not with the intent I ought, but, as it were, trying his eloquence, whether it answered the fame thereof, or flowed in streams fuller or lower than was reported; and I hung on his words attentively; but of the matter I was as a careless and scornful looker-on; and I was delighted with the sweetness of his discourse, more recondite, yet in manner, less winning and harmonious, than that of Faustus. Of the matter, however, there was no comparison; for the one was wandering amid Manichaean delusions, the other teaching salvation most soundly. But *salvation is far from sinners*,² such as I then stood before him; and yet was I drawing nearer little by little, unconsciously.

- 24 For though I took no pains to learn what he said, but only to hear

¹ Cf. Ps. 4.7(8); 104(103).15. ² Ps. 119.155

how he said it; (for that empty care alone was left me, despairing of a way, open for man, to thee), yet together with the words which I liked, there came also into my mind the things which I was neglecting; for I could not separate them. And while I opened my heart to admit 'how eloquently he spoke', there also entered 'how truly he spoke'; but this by degrees. For first, these things also had now begun to appear to me capable of defence; and the Catholic faith, for which I had thought nothing could be said against the Manichees' objections, I now thought might be maintained without shamelessness; especially after I had heard one or two places of the Old Testament resolved, and oft-times '*in a figure*',¹ which when I understood literally, I was slain spiritually. Very many places then of those books having been explained, I now blamed my despair in believing that no defence was possible against such as hated and scoffed at the Law and the Prophets. Yet I did not therefore then resolve that the Catholic way was to be held, because it also could find learned advocates, who could copiously and with some show of reason answer objections; nor that what I held at the moment was therefore to be condemned, because both sides could be defended on equal terms. For though the Catholic cause seemed to me not to be vanquished, it appeared not yet to be victorious.

- 25 [The task to which he addressed himself was to destroy his confidence in the Manichees. He did so with the help of the sceptical arguments of the Academy, but refused to commit himself to the philosophers.]

I determined therefore so long to be a Catechumen in the Catholic Church, to which I had been commended by my parents, till something certain should dawn upon me, whither I might steer my course. (LF, altered.)

23. *sober inebriation* (*sobria ebrietas*): the phrase comes from Ambrose, *Hymn* 3,23-4.

Faustus: cf. Milevis, an eloquent Manichaean bishop. Augustine was a Manichee for nine years. As his doubts about their teaching grew, he hoped that Faustus would still these, but this was not to be.

24. *empty care*: i.e. as to how Ambrose spoke.
copiously and with some show of reason, etc.: cf. Lactantius, *Inst.* V.2.1.

25. *had been commended to me by my parents*: Augustine became a catechumen at an early age (*Conf.* I.11.17) but his baptism was deferred. His father Patricius was still a pagan at this period, and was not baptized till shortly before his death in 371.

¹ 1 Cor. 13.12; 2 Cor. 3.6

164 The Conversion of Victorinus

Augustine, *Confessions*, VIII.2.4–5

Augustine heard the story of the conversion of Victorinus from Simplician, who 'is chiefly known from the record of his influence over men greater than himself. Ambrose, as well as Augustine, regarded him as in some sense his father in the faith.' (Gibb and Montgomery, *The Confessions of Augustine*, p.202). Simplician succeeded Ambrose as bishop of Milan.

- 4 O Lord, Lord, *Which hast bowed the heavens and come down, touched the mountains and they did smoke,*¹ by what means didst thou convey thyself into that breast? He used to read (as Simplician said) the holy Scripture, most studiously sought and searched into all the Christian writings, and said to Simplician (not openly, but privately and as a friend), 'Understand that I am already a Christian.' Simplician answered, 'I will not believe it, nor will I rank you among Christians, unless I see you in the church of Christ.' The other in banter replied, 'Do walls then make Christians?' And this he often made the same answer, and the mockery about the 'walls' was by the other as often renewed. For he feared to offend his friends, proud devil worshippers, from the height of whose Babylonian dignity, as from *cedars of Libanus*.² which *the Lord* had not yet *broken down*, he supposed a storm of ill-will would fall upon him. But after that by reading and earnest thought he had gathered firmness, and feared to be *denied by Christ before the holy angels, should he now be afraid to confess him before men*,³ and appeared to himself guilty of a heavy offence, in being ashamed of the Sacraments of the humility of thy Word, and not being ashamed of the sacrilegious rites of proud devils, whose pride he had imitated and their rites adopted, he became bold-faced against vanity, and shame-faced towards the truth, and suddenly and unexpectedly said to Simplician (as the latter told me), 'Let us go to the church; I wish to be made a Christian.' But he, not containing himself for joy, went with him. And having been admitted to the first mysteries of religion, not long after he further gave in his name, that he might be regenerated by baptism, while Rome wondered, and the Church rejoiced. The proud *saw, and were wroth; they gnashed with their teeth, and melted away*.⁴ But the Lord God *was the hope* of thy servant, and *he regarded not vanities and lying madness*.⁵

- 5 To conclude, when the hour was come for making profession of his faith (which at Rome they, who are about to approach to thy grace, deliver, from an elevated place, in the sight of all the faithful, in a set form of words committed to memory), the presbyters, he said, offered Victorinus (as was done to such, as seemed likely through bashfulness

¹ Ps. 144.5² Ps. 29.5³ Luke 9.26⁴ Ps. 112.10⁵ Ps. 31.6; cf. 78.7; 146.5

to be nervous) to make his profession more privately: but he chose to profess his salvation in the presence of the holy multitude. 'For it was not salvation that he taught in rhetoric, and yet that he had publicly professed. How much less then ought he, when pronouncing thy word, to dread thy meek flock, who, when delivering his own words, had not feared crowds of madmen!' When, therefore, he went up to make his profession, all, as they knew him, whispered his name one to another with the voice of congratulation. And who there did not know him? and there ran a low murmur through all the mouths of the rejoicing multitude, 'Victorinus! Victorinus!' Sudden was the burst of rapture, that they saw him; suddenly were they hushed that they might hear him. He pronounced the true faith with an excellent boldness, and all wished to draw him into their very heart: by their love and joy they drew him thither; these were the hands with which they drew him. (LF, altered.)

Gaius Marius Victorinus Afer was a celebrated rhetorician and man of letters. His conversion took place while Constantius was still Emperor. Under Julian's edict prohibiting Christians from teaching he resigned rather than give up his faith (Aug., *Conf.* VIII.5.10).

165 The Call to the Monastic Life

Augustine, *Confessions*, VIII.6.14-15

- 14 [Augustine relates how Pontician conversed with Alypius and himself at Milan about Antony and his wonderful works, of which they had been ignorant.]

But we stood amazed, hearing thy wonderful works most fully attested, in times so recent, and almost in our own, wrought in the true Faith and Catholic Church. We all wondered; we, that they were so great, and he, that they had not reached us.

- 15 Thence his discourse turned to the flocks in the monasteries, and their holy ways, a sweet smelling savour unto thee, and the fruitful deserts of the wilderness, whereof we knew nothing. And there was a monastery at Milan, full of good brethren, outside the city walls, under the fostering care of Ambrose, and we knew nothing about it. He went on with his discourse, and we listened in intent silence. He told us then how one afternoon at Trier, when the Emperor was taken up with the games in the Circus, he and three others, his companions, went out to walk in gardens near the city walls, and there as they happened to walk in pairs, one went apart with him, and the other two wandered by themselves; and these in their wanderings, lighted upon a cottage, inhabited by certain of thy servants, *poor in spirit, of whom is the kingdom of heaven*,¹ and there they found a book, containing the life of Antony.

¹ Matt. 5.3

This one of them began to read, admire, and kindle at it; and as he read, to meditate on taking up such a life, and giving over his secular service to serve thee. And these two were of those whom they style 'Agents for the Public Affairs'. Then suddenly, filled with holy love, and sober shame, in anger with himself he turned his eyes to his friend, saying, 'Tell me, I ask, what would we attain by all these labours of ours? what are we aiming at? what are we serving for? Can our hopes in court rise higher than to be the Emperor's friends? and in this, what is there not brittle, and full of perils? and by how many perils do we arrive at a greater peril? And when do we get there? But a friend of God, if I wish it, I am becoming now at once.' Thus he spoke. And in pain with the travail of a new life, he turned his eyes again upon the book, and read on, and was changed inwardly, where thou sawest, and his mind was stripped of the world, as soon appeared. For as he read, and was tossed on waves of emotion, he stormed at himself a while, then discerned, and determined on the better course; and now being thine, said to his friend, 'Now I have broken loose from those hopes of ours, and am resolved to serve God; and I am entering on this service from this hour, in this place. If it irks you to imitate me, do not oppose.' The other answered, he would cleave to him, to partake so glorious a reward, so glorious a service. Thus both being now thine, they began to *build the tower* at the necessary cost, the *forsaking all that they had, and following thee*.¹ Then Pontician and the other with him, that had walked in other parts of the garden, came in search of them to the same place; and finding them, reminded them to return, for the day was now far spent. But they relating their resolution and purpose, and how that intention began and settled in them, begged them, if they would not join, not to molest them. But the others, though nothing altered from their former selves, did not yet bewail themselves (as he affirmed), and piously congratulated them, recommending themselves to their prayers; and so, with hearts lingering on the earth, went away to the palace. But the other two, fixing their heart on heaven, remained in the cottage. And both had affianced brides, who when they heard that had happened, also dedicated their virginity to God. (LF, altered.)

The story told by Pontician overwhelmed Augustine with shame, and plunged him into a crisis of self-examination. But it all led up to the events narrated in below.

15. *the Life of Antony*: presumably the *Life* by Athanasius.

the Emperor's friends: i.e. the councillors of his personal entourage.

'Agents for the Public Affairs': *agentes in rebus*.

¹ Luke 14.26-35

166 The Conversion of Augustine, August 386

Augustine, *Confessions*, VIII.12.28–30

- 28 [In misery over his present condition, Augustus fled weeping from his friend Alypius.]
I flung myself down I know not how, under a fig tree, giving full vent to my tears; and the floods of my eyes gushed out, an *acceptable sacrifice to thee*.¹ And, not indeed in these words, yet to this purpose, spoke I much unto thee: *And thou, O Lord, how long?² how long, Lord, wilt thou be angry for ever? Remember not our former iniquities,*³ for I felt that I was held by them. I sent up these sorrowful words; How long? how long is it to be? 'To-morrow, and to-morrow?' Why not now? Why is there not this hour an end to my uncleanness?
- 29 So was I speaking, and weeping in the most bitter contrition of my heart, when, suddenly I heard from a neighbouring house a voice, as of boy or girl, I do not know, often repeating in a sing-song, 'Take up and read; Take up and read'. Instantly, my countenance altered, I began to think most intently, whether children were wont in any kind of play to sing such words: nor could I remember ever to have heard the like. So I checked the torrent of my tears, and got up; interpreting it to be no other than a command from God, to open the book, and read the first chapter I should find. For I had heard of Antony, that coming in during the reading of the Gospel, he received the admonition, as if what was being read, was spoken to him; *Go, sell all that thou hast, and give to the poor, and thou shalt have treasure in heaven, and come follow me.*⁴ And by such an oracle he was immediately converted unto thee. Eagerly then I returned to the place where Alypius was sitting, for there I had laid the volume of the Apostle, when I got up from there. I seized it, opened it, and in silence read that section, on which my eyes first fell; *Not in rioting and drunkenness, not in chambering and wantonness, not in strife and envying; but put ye on the Lord Jesus Christ, and make not provision for the flesh,*⁵ in concupiscence. I wished to read no further; nor did I need; for instantly at the end of this sentence, by a light as it were of serenity infused into my heart, all the darkness of doubt vanished.
- 30 Then putting my finger between, or some other mark, I shut the volume, and with a calm countenance I disclosed all to Alypius. And what was wrought in him, which I knew not, he thus disclosed to me. He asked to see what I had read, I showed him; and he looked even further than I had read, and I did not know what followed, namely, *Him that is weak in the faith, receive;*⁶ which he applied to himself, and explained to me. And by this admonition he was strengthened; and by

¹ Cf. Ps. 51.17² Ps. 6.3³ Ps. 79.5.8⁴ Matt. 19.21⁵ Rom. 13.13, 14⁶ Rom. 14.1

a good resolution and purpose, and most corresponding to his character, in which he was always very far different from me for the better, without any crisis and delay he joined me. Thence we went to my mother; we told her; she rejoiced: we related in order how it took place; she leapt for joy and rejoiced in triumph, and blessed thee, *who art able to do above that which we ask or think*;¹ for she perceived that thou hadst given her more for me, than she was wont to beg with pitiful and sorrowful groanings. For thou convertedst me unto thyself, so that I sought neither wife, nor any hope of this world, standing in that rule of faith where thou hadst showed me unto her in a vision, so many years before. And thou didst *convert her mourning into joy*,² much more richly than she had desired, and in a much more precious and purer way than she once required, by having grandchildren of my body. (LF, altered)

29. *I had heard of Antony*: Athanasius, *Life of Antony*, 2.

30. *in a vision*: Conf. III 11.19.

B. AUGUSTINE AS PRESBYTER, 391–95

167 The Festival of Leontius, Bishop and Martyr, at Hippo Regius

Augustine, *Ep.* XXIX.9–11

At Hippo, and elsewhere in Africa, riotous celebrations took place at the festivals of martyrs (cf. Aug., *Ep.* XXII.6 (to Aurelius of Carthage)). At Hippo an additional complication was that the festival of Leontius, formerly bishop, was celebrated by both Catholics and Donatists, and that if the former were prevented from celebrating, they would feel that they were missing something. Augustine tells us (*Ep.* XXIX.2) that they call it (i.e. the festival) *laetitia*, and by 'this name try to gloss over what is a drunken riot'.

- 9 Lest, however, any slight should seem to be put by us upon those who, before our time, either tolerated or did not dare to put down such manifest excesses of an undisciplined multitude, I explained to them the circumstances out of which this custom seems to have necessarily risen in the Church—namely, that when, in the peace which came after such numerous and violent persecutions, crowds of heathen who wished to assume the Christian religion were kept back because, having been accustomed to celebrate the feasts connected with their worship of idols in revelling and drunkenness, they could not easily refrain from pleasures so hurtful but so habitual, it had seemed good to our ancestors to make for the time being a concession to this infirmity, and to permit them to celebrate, instead of the festivals which they

¹ Eph. 3.20 ² Ps. 30.11

renounced, other feasts in honour of the holy martyrs, which were observed, not as before with a profane design, but with similar self-indulgence. I added that now upon them, as persons bound together in the name of Christ, and subject to the yoke of his august authority, the wholesome restraints of sobriety were laid—restraints with which the honour and fear due to him who appointed them should move them to comply—and that therefore the time had now come in which all who did not dare to deny the Christian profession should begin to walk according to Christ's will; and being now Christians, should reject those concessions to infirmity which were made that they might become Christians.

- 10 I then exhorted them to imitate the example of the churches beyond the sea, in some of which these practices had never been tolerated, while in others they had been already put down by the people complying with the counsel of good ecclesiastical rulers, and as the examples of daily excess in the use of wine in the basilica of the blessed Apostle Peter were brought forward in defence of the practice, I said in the first place that I had heard that these excesses had been often forbidden, but because the place was at a distance from the bishop's control, and because in so large a city the multitude of carnally-minded persons was great, the foreigners especially, of whom there is a constant influx, clinging to that practice with an obstinacy proportional to their ignorance, the suppression of so great an evil had not yet been possible. If, however, I continued, we would honour the Apostle Peter we ought to hear his words and look much more to the epistles by which his mind is made known to us, than to the basilica, by which it is not made known; and immediately, taking the manuscript, I read his own words (1 Pet. 4. 1–3).

After this, when I saw that all were with one consent turning to a right mind, and renouncing the custom against which I had protested, I exhorted them to assemble at noon for the reading of God's word and singing of psalms, stating that we had resolved thus to celebrate the festival in a way much more accordant with purity and piety, and that by the number of worshippers who should assemble for this purpose, it would plainly appear who followed reason and who their belly. With these words the discourse concluded.

- 11 In the afternoon a greater number assembled than in the forenoon, and there was reading and psalm singing alternately up to the hour at which I went out in company with the bishop (Valerius, bishop of Hippo); and after our coming two psalms were read. Then the old man (Valerius) constrained me by his express command to say something to the people; from which I would rather have been excused, as I was longing for the close of the anxieties of the day. I delivered a short discourse in order to express our gratitude to God. And as we heard the noise of the feasting, which was going on as usual in the church of

the heretics, who still prolonged their revelry while we were so differently engaged, I remarked that the beauty of day is enhanced by contrast with the night, and that when anything black is near, the purity of white is the more pleasing; and that, in like manner, our meeting for a spiritual feast might perhaps have been somewhat less sweet to us, but for the contrast of the carnal excesses in which the others indulged; and I exhorted them to desire eagerly such feasts as we then enjoyed, if they had tasted the goodness of the Lord.

[Augustine then urged his hearers (quoting Phil.3.19; 1 Cor.6.13) to seek what is imperishable, not what will shortly be destroyed.]

And when those thing which the Lord was pleased to suggest to me had been spoken on this subject as the occasion required, the daily evening exercises of worship were performed; and when with the bishop I retired from the church, the brethren said hymns there, a considerable multitude of both sexes remaining in the church, and engaging in praise even till daylight failed. (Tr. J. G. Cunningham, *Letters of St Augustine*, I, pp. 89–92, altered.)

10. *the place was at a distance from the bishop's control*, i.e. the bishop of Rome's residence being at the Lateran palace. St Peter's was the scene, not only of the kind of celebration mentioned by Augustine, but even of the vast funeral banquet given by Pammachius in honour of his dead wife to the poor of Rome. (Paulinus of Nola, *Ep.* 13–15.)

C. AUGUSTINE AND THE DONATISTS

168 Augustine and the Donatists

Possidius, *S. Augustini Vita*, 9

He was always *ready to give an account, to anyone who asked, of the faith and hope*¹ which is toward God; and Donatists in particular, if they lived in Hippo or one of the neighbouring towns, used to bring along to their bishops things they had heard him say. When the bishops had heard these, and perhaps made some sort of reply, either they were answered by their own followers or their replies were brought to the holy Augustine. He used to examine them patiently and gently as Scripture says: *in fear and trembling he worked for men's salvation*² and showed how these bishops were neither willing nor able to attempt a proper refutation and how true and clear are the things we hold and learn in the faith of the Church of God.

He laboured at this task day and night continually. He even wrote personal letters to some of the bishops of that heresy—the more prominent, that is to say—and to laymen, trying to persuade them by

¹ Pet.3.15

² Cf. Phil.2.12

reasoned argument that they ought either to alter their perverse opinions or else meet him in debate. But they had too little confidence in their own case even to answer his letters, but merely raged against him in their anger, denouncing him in private and in public as a seducer and deceiver of souls. They used to say, and argue at length, that he was a wolf to be killed in defence of their flock and that there could be no doubt whatever that God would forgive all the sins of those who could achieve this feat; for they felt neither fear of God nor shame before men. Augustine for his part took pains that everyone should know of their lack of confidence in their own cause and they, when they met him in public conference, dared not enter into a discussion with him. (F.R. Hoare, *The Western Fathers*, p.204, altered.)

Augustine began his campaign against the Donatists in the diocese of Hippo while he was still a presbyter (See *Ep.*XXIII, to the Donatist Bishop Maximin of Sinitum) but he had little success until 399, after the failure of the Gildonic revolt in which some leading Donatists had been involved.

169 The Condemnation of Primian, 24 June 393

From the Letter of the Council of Cebarsussa: text in *PL*, XI. 1185ff

Parmenian, Donatist bishop of Carthage, died in 391-2, and was succeeded by Primian, whose violent and dictatorial conduct soon caused schism (among the Donatists). He treated a gathering at Carthage of over forty bishops with contempt. The condemnation of Primian by this body was taken up again at Cebarsussa, where more than fifty bishops assembled.

After a preliminary recital of Primian's crimes, the council decreed as follows:

We, all priests of God, in the presence of the Holy Spirit, have unanimously decreed that the following charges are valid against the afore-mentioned Primian: (1) that he substituted others in place of bishops still alive; (2) that he admitted immoral characters to the communion of the Church (*sanctorum*); (3) that he tried to suborn presbyters to concert a plot; (4) that he caused the presbyter Fortunatus to be thrown down a drain, for having come to the aid of certain sick by baptizing them; (5) that he denied communion to the presbyter Demetrius, to compel him to disinherit his son; (6) that the same presbyter was rebuked (? chastised) for giving hospitality to bishops; (7) that the afore-mentioned Primian sent a large gang to wreck the homes of Christians; (8) that bishops as well as other clerics were shut up by him and afterwards stoned by his partners in violence; (9) that in a basilica senior persons (*seniores*) were beaten, because they took ill the admission of the Claudianists to communion; (10) for considering that innocent clerics were to be condemned; (11) for refusing to present himself to us for interview, by blocking the doors of

basilicas with a body of police to prevent our entry; (12) for rejecting with insult emissaries sent to him by us; (13) for seizing various pieces of property, first by force and then with official support; (14) for other illicit acts, about which to save the honour of our pen we have been silent: for all these we decree that Primian is for ever removed from the body of bishops, in case that, by our seeming to condone, the Church of God be stained with any infection or crimes.

[All Christians are warned to abstain from communion with him, and all clergy and laity are to withdrawn from his communion by certain dates.]

(3) *to concert a plot*, against Maximian, who had opposed Primian, and three other deacons.

(4) *by baptizing them*: presumably they were catechumens, who had fallen into some sin.

(5) *to disinherit his son*: presumably in Primian's favour.

seniores: Though their status is not sure, they were almost certainly lay officials responsible for the administration of the property of the church and aspects of its internal discipline. See Frend, 'The *Seniores Laici* and the origins of the church in North Africa' (*JTS(NS)*XII(1961) pp.280-84.

(9) *the Claudianists*: a schism that had formed under Claudian, Donatist bishop of Rome in the 370s (see Frend, *The Donatist Church*, pp.206-7).

(11) *with a body of police*: 'he had the populace, and, more curiously the local officials on his side' (Frend, *op.cit.*, pp.214-15), cf.sect.(13) below.

Maximian, a kinsman of Donatus, was consecrated bishop of Carthage, but Primian had the above condemnation reversed at the council of Bagai in April 394 attended by 310 bishops, an event that marks the climax of Donatist power and prestige.

170 Donatist Sacraments Valid but not Efficacious

Augustine, *Ep.* LXI.2

When, therefore, any come to us from the party of Donatus, we do not welcome the evil which belongs to them, i.e. their dissension and error; these, the obstacles to our concord, are removed from between us, and we embrace our brethren, standing with them, as the Apostle says, *in the unity of the Spirit, in the bond of peace*,¹ and acknowledging in them the good things of God, as their holy Baptism, the blessing conferred by Ordination, their profession of self-denial, their vow of celibacy, their faith in the Trinity, and among other good things that be, all which things were indeed theirs before but *profited them nothing, because they had not charity*.² For what truth is there in the profession of the

¹ Eph.4.3

² 1 Cor.13.3

charity of Christ by him who does not embrace his unity? When, therefore, they come to the Catholic Church, they gain thereby not what they already possessed, but something which they had not before—namely, that those things which they possessed begin then to be profitable to them. For in the Catholic Church they obtain the root of charity in the bond of peace and in the fellowship of unity; so that all the sacraments of truth which they have serve not for condemnation, but for liberation. (Tr. J.G. Cunningham, *Letters of St Augustine*, I, p.241, altered.)

171 Council of Carthage, June 404: the State is asked to Persecute the Donatists

From *Codex Canonum Ecclesiae Africanae*, XCIII: text in *PL* LXVII.212 ff; in Bruns, *Canones Apostolorum et Conciliorum veterum selecti*, pp.181–3 and C. Munier, *Concilia Africae* (=CC, Series Latina CXLIX), pp.211–14

[As the Donatists had failed to respond to efforts made to bring them to a discussion, but had replied by acts of violence, the delegates of the council to the Emperors were instructed to ask as follows:]

As we have fulfilled our episcopal and peace-seeking duty towards them, and they, who could make no reply to the truth, were turned to horrible acts of violence such as laying ambushes for numerous bishops and clergy (not to speak of laity) and the seizure or attempted seizure of various churches, it is for the Imperial Clemency to counsel as to how the Catholic Church, which has borne them in Christ from her sacred womb, and nourished them with firmness of faith, should be fortified by their foresight, lest audacious persons get the upper hand in a religious era, by terrorizing a defenceless population since they cannot lead them astray and so corrupt them. For the hateful band of the Circumcellions, in which they rage, has often been mentioned and proclaimed in laws, and it has been condemned by frequent sanctions of our above-mentioned most religious Emperors; against their fury we can gain a security that is not extraordinary or alien to holy Scripture, since the Apostle Paul, as is related in the faithful Acts of the Apostles even averted a conspiracy of powerful opponents by military aid.¹ But the subject of our request is that protection be provided openly for the various orders in the Catholic Churches in individual cities and various areas on certain neighbouring estates. At the same time one must ask that they confirm the law originating from their father of pious memory, Theodosius, by which a penalty of ten

¹ Acts 23.12ff

pounds of gold is laid upon those heretics who ordain or are ordained, or upon landowners on whose property heretical congregations assemble. The object of its confirmation is to bring it to bear on those against whom on account of their ambushes, exasperated Catholics have entered a suit, so that by fear at least of legal action they may refrain themselves from heretical or schismatical wickedness, who fail to be amended or corrected by the thoughts of everlasting punishment. [Similarly we request the law about inheritances be reconfirmed with safeguards against those who become Catholics merely to secure an inheritance.]

the law . . . by which a penalty . . . is laid: Cod. Theod., XVI.5.21. (15 June 392). See 115.

the law about inheritances: Cod. Theod., XVI.5.7 (8 May 381).
The request was granted and numerous edicts issued, for example, *Cod. Theod.* XVI.5.38. But these were ineffectual in the years up to 410.

172 Augustine on Repressive Legislation, 408

Augustine, *Ep.* XCIII.5, 17–18

This long letter was addressed by Augustine to his friend Vincentius who had become a bishop of the Rogatist sect of the Donatists.

- 5 You are of the opinion that no one should be compelled to follow righteousness, though you read that the householder (*paterfamilias*) said to his servants, *Compel them to come in.*¹ You also read how he who was at first Saul and afterwards Paul, was compelled, by the great violence with which Christ coerced him, to know and to embrace the truth; for you cannot but think that the light which our eyes enjoy is more precious to men than money or any other possession. This light, lost suddenly by him when he was cast to the ground by the heavenly voice, he did not recover until he became a member of the holy Church. You are also of the opinion that no coercion is to be used with any man in order to deliver him from the fatal consequences of error; and yet you see that in examples which cannot be disputed, this is done by God, who loves us with more real regard for our profit than any other can, and you hear Christ saying, *No man comes unto me, except the Father draw him,*² which is done in the hearts of all those who, through fear of the wrath of God, betake themselves to him. You know also that sometimes the thief scatters food before the flock that he may lead them astray, and sometimes the shepherd brings wandering sheep back to the flock with his rod . . .
- 17 I have therefore yielded to the evidence afforded by these instances

¹ Luke 14.23

² John 6.44

which my colleagues have laid before me. For originally my opinion was that no one should be coerced into the unity of Christ, that we must act only by words, fight only by arguments, and prevail by force of reason, lest we should have as fake Catholics those whom we had known as open heretics. But this opinion of mine was overcome not by the words of those who controverted it, but by the conclusive instances to which they could point. For, in the first place, there was set over against my opinion my own town; which, although it was once wholly on the side of Donatus, was brought over to the Catholic unity by fear of the Imperial edicts, but which we now see filled with such detestation of your ruinous perversity, that it would scarcely be believed that it had ever been involved in your error.

- 18 To all these classes of persons the dread of those laws in the promulgation of which kings serve the Lord in fear has been so useful, that now some say: We were willing for this some time ago; but thanks be to God, who has given us occasion for doing it at once, and has cut off the hesitancy of procrastination! Others say: We already knew this to be true, but we were held prisoners by the force of old custom: thanks be to the Lord, who has broken these bonds asunder, and has brought us into the bond of peace! Others say: We knew not that the truth was here, and we had no wish to learn it; but fear made us become earnest to examine it when we became alarmed, lest, without any gain in things eternal, we should be smitten with loss in temporal things: thanks be to the Lord, who has by the stimulus of fear startled us from our negligence, that now being disquieted we might inquire into those things which, when at ease, we did not care to know! Others say: We were prevented from entering the Church by false reports, which we could not know to be false unless we entered it; and we would not enter unless we were compelled: thanks be to the Lord, who by his scourge took away our timid hesitation, and taught us to find out for ourselves how vain and absurd were the lies which rumour had spread abroad against his Church: by this we are persuaded that there is no truth in the accusations made by the authors of this sect, since the more serious charges which their successors have invented are without foundation. Others say: We thought, indeed, that it mattered not in what communion we held the faith of Christ; but thanks to the Lord, who has gathered us in from a state of schism, and has taught us that it is fitting that the one God be worshipped in unity. (J. G. Cunningham, *Letters of St Augustine*, I, pp. 399, 409-11, altered.)

Augustine had at first been opposed to coercion in matters of religion, but the course of the controversy with the Donatists showed him that argument was of little avail. By 404 various African bishops were urging stronger measures, which the Emperor was not unwilling to sanction, as the schismatics constituted a menace to law and order in an important part of the Empire.

17. *no one should be coerced*: for example, in *Contra Epistolam quam vocant fundamenti* I.1 (written against the Manichees).

18. *To all these classes of persons*: Augustine had gone over these in the part of 17 omitted above: he now goes over them again.

the authors of this sect (haeresis): Augustine in *Ep.* XLIII.1 of AD 397 did not then regard Donatists as necessarily heretics.

173 The Donatist Standpoint

The following extracts give the Donatist view on a number of key issues separating them from the North African Catholics. Most have been taken from the encyclical letter written by Petilian, Donatist Bishop of Constantine, to his clergy *c.* AD 400. Augustine in his reply quotes Petilian verbally. The extracts illustrate the uncompromising views, as well as the unmeasured terms used to express them, of the Donatist leaders of the day.

1 Baptism or Re-Baptism?

Augustine, *Against the Letters of Petilian*, II.1.2; II.4; III.6; IV.8 and V.10

II.1.2. Petilianus, a bishop, to his well-beloved brethren, fellow-priests, and deacons, appointed ministers with us throughout our diocese in the gospel, grace be to you and peace, from God our Father and from the Lord Jesus Christ.

4 Those who have polluted their souls with a guilty laver, under the name of baptism, reproach us with baptizing twice,—than whose obscenity, indeed, any kind of filth is more cleanly, seeing that through a perversion of cleanliness they have come to be made fouler by their washing.

III.6 For what we look to is the conscience of the giver, to cleanse that of the recipient.

IV.8 For he who receives faith from the faithless, receives not faith but guilt.

V.10 For everything consists of an origin and root; and if it have not something for a head, it is nothing: nor does anything well receive second birth, unless it be born again of good seed. (Tr. J.R. King, *The Anti-Donatist Writings of St Augustine*, pp.256–7.)

III.6: Petilian claimed that what he said was, ‘For what we look for is the conscience of him who goes *in holiness* (*Sancte*) to cleanse the conscience of the recipient’, but that Augustine had suppressed the word *sancte* (‘in holiness’). (*Against the Letters of Petilian*, III.15.18.)

It is noticeable that baptism comes to the forefront of the dispute. For Cyprian’s view (which Petilian follows) see *NER* 212–16.

The concept of the origin and root of a belief or practice, not least concerning the *unitas* of the church, plays a large part in the theology of the North African Church (e.g. Tertullian, *Adv. Praxeas* 8 and Cyprian, *De Unitate* 5.)

2 Persecution

Petilian, cited by Augustine, *Against the Letters of Petilian*, II.19.42

Petilianus said: The Lord Jesus Christ commands us, saying, '*When they persecute you in this city, flee ye into another; and if they persecute you in that, flee yet into a third; for verily I say unto you, ye shall not have gone over the cities of Israel, till the Son of man be come.*'¹ If He gives us this warning in the case of Jews and pagans, you who call yourself a Christian ought not to imitate the dreadful deeds of the Gentiles. Or do you serve God in such wise that we should be murdered at your hands? You do err, you do err, if you are wretched enough to entertain such a belief as this. For God does not have butchers for His priests. (Tr. J. R. King, op.cit. p.276)

Gesta Collationis Carthaginensis, III.258

The opening sentence of the Donatist Aide Memoire presented to the Imperial Tribune and Notary, Flavius Marcellinus, during the third session of the Conference of Carthage, 8 June 411:

To Flavius Marcellinus, *vir clarissimus* and *spectabilis*, tribune and notary, Januarius and all the other bishops of the Catholic truth, that which suffers persecution but does not persecute. (Ed. and French Tr. Serge Lancel, *Sources chrétiennes*, 224, p. 1194.)

3 Martyrdom

Augustine, *Against the Letters of Petilian*, II.89.196

Petilianus said: Therefore I say, He ordained that we should undergo death for the faith, which each man should do for the communion of the Church. For Christianity makes progress by the deaths of its followers. For if death were feared by the faithful, no man would be found to live with perfect faith. For the Lord Christ says, '*Except a corn of wheat fall into the ground and die, it abideth alone: but if it die, it bringeth forth much fruit.*'² (Tr. J. R. King, op. cit., p.361.)

Compare Tertullian, *Apol.*, 50.16 for a similar view of martyrdom.

4 The Secular Power

Augustine, *Against the Letters of Petilian*, II.92.202

Petilianus said: But what have you to do with the kings of this world, in whom Christianity has never found anything save envy towards her? And to teach you shortly the truth of what I say: A king persecuted the brethren of the Maccabees.³ A king also condemned the three children to the sanctifying flames, being ignorant what he did, seeing that he

¹ Matt. 10.23

² John 12.24

³ Mac. 7

himself was fighting against God.¹ A king sought the life of the infant Saviour.² A king exposed Daniel, as he thought, to be eaten by wild beasts.³ And the Lord Christ himself was slain by a king's most wicked judge.⁴ Hence it is that the apostle cries out, '*We speak wisdom among them that are perfect; yet not the wisdom of this world, nor of the princes of this world, that come to nought: but we speak the wisdom of God in a mystery, even the hidden wisdom, which God ordained before the world unto our glory; which none of the princes of this world knew: for had they known it, they would not have crucified the Lord of glory.*'⁵ But grant that this was said of the heathen kings of old. Yet you, rulers of this present age, because you desire to be Christians, do not allow men to be Christians, seeing that, when they are believing in all honesty of heart, you draw them by the defilement and mist of your falsehood wholly over to your wickedness, that with their arms, which were provided against the enemies of the state, they should assail the Christians, and should think that, at your instigation, they are doing the work of Christ if they kill us whom you hate, according to the saying of the Lord Christ: '*The time cometh,*' he says, '*that whosoever killeth you will think that he doeth God service.*'⁶ It makes no matter therefore to you, *false teachers*, whether the kings of this world desire to be heathens, which God forbid, or Christians, so long as you cease not in your efforts to arm them against the family of Christ. (Tr. J.R. King, op.cit. pp. 336-4)

Petilian's attack is aimed at secular rule throughout the ages of which the Roman emperors were merely the latest example. Augustine countered by pointing out that 'Christian times' were far different from earlier ages and that rulers now served the Lord, and moreover, Petilian's argument was inconsistent as the Donatists had themselves appealed to Julian the Apostate for permission to return to their sees for exile. Imperial edicts enforcing Church unity against the Donatists were justified. (*Against the Letter of Petilian*, II.92.203-13.)

5 Freedom of Conscience

Augustine, *Against the Letters of Petilian*, II.84.185

Petilianus said: For the Lord Christ says, 'No man can come to me, except the Father which hath sent me draw him.'⁷ But why do we not permit each several person to follow his free will, since the Lord God himself has given free will to men, showing to them, however, the way of righteousness, lest any one by chance should perish from ignorance of it? For he said, 'I have placed before thee good and evil.'⁸ I have set fire and water before thee: stretch forth thine hand unto whether thou wilt.' From which choice, you wretched men, you have chosen for

¹ Dan. 3

² Matt. 2.16

³ Dan. 6

⁴ Matt. 27.26

⁵ 1 Cor. 2.6-8

⁶ John 16.2

⁷ John 6.44

⁸ Deut. 30.15,19

yourselves not water, but rather fire. 'But yet,' he says, 'stretch forth thine hand unto the good, that thou mayest live'.¹ You who will not choose the good, have by your own sentence, declared that you do not wish to live. (Tr. J. R. King, op.cit., pp.354-5.)

A curious claim in view of the Donatist treatment of the defeated Maximianist schismatics, but repeated by the Donatist grammarian Cresconius in 406, with the statement that 'truth is often with the few, and error with the many'. (Augustine, *Contra Cresconium*, IV.53.63). For Augustine's concept of Freedom, see 181.

6 The Donatists and the Cathedra Petri

Optatus, *De Schismate Donatistarum*, II.3-4

Show the origin of your *Cathedra*, you who wish to claim the Holy Church for yourselves!

But you say that you too have some sort of a party in the city of Rome. It is a branch of your error growing out of a lie, not from the root of truth. In a word, were Macrobius to be asked where he sits in the City, will he be able to say 'in the *Cathedra Petri*'? I doubt whether he has even set eyes upon it, and schismatic that he is, he has not drawn nigh to Peter's 'Shrine' (*memoria*), against the precept of the apostle who says: '*communicating with the "Shrines" of the Saints*'.²

Consider this: in Rome are the 'Shrines' of the two Apostles. Will you tell me whether he has been able to approach them or has offered sacrifice in those places, where, it is well known, are the 'Shrines' of the Saints.

[The Donatist episcopal succession goes back only to Victor of Garba.]

How do you explain that your party has not been able to possess a Roman citizen as bishop in Rome? How is it that in that city they were all Africans and strangers who are known to have succeeded one another? Is not craft here manifest? Is this not the spirit of faction—the mother of schism?

This Victor of Garba was sent first, I will not say as a stone into a fountain (for he could not ruffle the pure waters of the Catholic people), but because some Africans who belonged to your party, having gone to Rome, and wishing to live there, begged that someone should be sent from Africa to preside over their public worship. (Tr. O. R. Vassall-Phillips, *St Optatus*, pp.69-72 altered)

Optatus was writing c.365, but the Donatists still had their bishop in Rome in 411, at the time of the Conference of Carthage. They clearly attached more importance to maintaining a link with the *Cathedra Petri* than simply a

¹ Ecclus. 15.15.16 (Petilian seems to have conflated this and the Deuteronomy text for maximum emphasis)

² Rom. 12.13

chaplaincy for North Africans in the city. The cult of Peter and Paul was sometimes associated with that of local martyrs in Donatist Numidia. (Freund, *The Memoriae Apostolorum in Roman North Africa* (JRS, XXX, 1940) pp.32-49.)

Macrobius: Donatist bishop at Rome, c.384.

Peter's 'Shrine': i.e. the *memoria* enclosed within Constantine's church.

the 'Shrines' of the Saints: with the reading ταῖς μνείαις instead of ταῖς χρεΐαις in Rom. 12.13.

Victor of Garba: he was present at the council of Cirta in 305, cf. *NER* 258, p.298. 'The apostolic succession had now been restored, though during the century of his existence the Donatist bishop of Rome was to rank below the primates of Carthage and Numidia'. (Freund, *The Donatist Church*, p.164.)

the Cathedra of pestilence: Optatus goes on to point out how pestilence sends its victims to hell, the gates of which shall not prevail against Peter's keys.

174 A Donatist Chronicle, 405

From *Liber Genealogus*, 546, 626, 627; text in *MGH XI*, pp.192, 196

... Jeroboam reigned in Samaria thirty-four years and there was a schism (*scisma*) between Roboam son of Solomon and Jeroboam son of Nabath; and war between them all the days of their life, just as there is even now between the true Christians and false Catholics (546).

... Compelled by these (i.e. Diocletian and Maximian), Marcellinus of the city (Rome), Mensurius of Carthage, Strato and Cassian, deacons of the city, and Caecilian, while they were 'of the ministry of the Church of truth', publicly in the Capitol burnt incense, and copies of the Gospels (626).

From these to Stilicho, consul for the second time, there are 102 years. In this actual consulship persecution came upon the Christians (627).

persecution came upon the Christians: as is stated in 171 above.

175 Augustine: Advice to Marcellinus on the Punishment of Donatists, 412

Augustine, *Ep.* CXXXIII.2

Fulfil, Christian judge, the duty of an affectionate father; let your indignation against their crimes be tempered by considerations of humanity; do not be provoked by the atrocity of their sinful deeds to gratify the passion of revenge, but rather bring your will to bear so as to cure the wounds of sinners. Do not lose now that fatherly care which you maintained when prosecuting the examination, in doing which you

extracted the confession of such horrid crimes, not by stretching them on the rack, not by furrowing their flesh with iron claws, not by scorching them with flames, but by beating them with rods—a mode of correction used by schoolmasters, and by parents themselves in chastising children, and often also by bishops in legal cases. Do not, therefore, now punish with extreme severity the crimes which you searched out with lenity. The necessity for harshness is greater in the investigation than in the infliction of punishment; for even the gentlest men use diligence and stringency in searching out a hidden crime, that they may find to whom they may show mercy. Wherefore it is generally necessary to use more rigour in making inquisition, so that when the crime has been brought to light, there may be scope for displaying clemency. (Tr. J. G. Cunningham, *Letters of St Augustine*, II, pp. 169f.)

Marcellinus had decided against the Donatists at the Conference of Carthage in June 411. His decision was followed by an imperial edict (*Cod. Theod.* XVI.5.52) on 30 January 412, banning the Donatist Church and ordering severe financial penalties against its members and sentence of exile on its clergy. Torture and the death penalty were not ordered, and Augustine regarded Marcellinus' measures excessive. He also feared the results of making Donatists martyrs. The Donatist Church did in fact lose much of its strength and influence during the next years (see for example, Augustine, *Letter 28, Divjak*), and between 412 and 429 the Catholics enjoyed an era of great prosperity.

176 The Circumcellions Again, 417

Augustine, *Ep.* CLXXXV.4.15, addressed to Count Boniface, c.417

And, indeed, before these laws were put in force by the Emperors of the Catholic Faith, the doctrine of the peace and unity of Christ was beginning by degrees to gain ground, and men were coming over to it even from the faction of Donatus, in proportion as each learned more, and became more willing, and more master of his own actions; although, at the same time, among the Donatists crazy herds of abandoned men were disturbing the peace of the innocent for one reason or another. What master was there who was not compelled to live in dread of his own slave, if he had put himself under the guardianship of the Donatists? Who dared even threaten one who sought his ruin? Who dared to exact payment of a debt from one who consumed his stores, or from any debtor whatsoever, that sought their assistance or protection? Under the threat of beating, and burning, and immediate death, all documents compromising the worst of slaves were destroyed, that they might go free. Notes of hand that had been extracted from debtors were returned to them. Anyone who had shown a contempt for their hard words was compelled by harder blows to do

what they ordered. The houses of innocent persons who had offended them were either razed to the ground or burned. Certain heads of families of honourable parentage, and brought up with a good education, were carried away half dead after their deeds of violence, or bound to the mill, and compelled by blows to turn it round, like the meanest beasts of burden. For what legal remedy rendered by the civil powers was of any avail against them? What official ever ventured to so much as to breathe in their presence? What agents ever exacted payment of a debt which they had been unwilling to discharge? Who ever tried to avenge those put to death in their massacres? Except, indeed, that their own madness took revenge on them, when some, by provoking against themselves the swords of men, whom they obliged to kill them under fear of instant death, others by throwing themselves over sundry precipices, others by water, others by fire, gave themselves over on the several occasions to a voluntary death, and gave up their lives as offerings to the dead by punishments inflicted with their own hands upon themselves. (J. R. King, *Anti-Donatist Writings of St Augustine*, pp.491–3, altered.)

The activity of the Circumcellions may have been less intense during the last half of the fourth century than in the 340s (see 15, 171 above). With the revival of Catholicism largely through Augustine's efforts from 400 onwards, their attacks on landowners and Catholic clergy increased, leading to an outburst of fury in the years immediately before and following the Conference of Carthage. Agrarian discontent was one of the factors that led to the rapid downfall of Roman and Catholic rule in North Africa on the arrival of the Vandals in 429.

D AUGUSTINE AND THE FALL OF ROME IN 410

177 The Fall of Rome, 410

Augustine, *De Civitate Dei*, I.7

All the spoiling then to which Rome was exposed in the recent calamity—all the slaughter, plundering, burning, and misery—was the result of the custom of war. But what was novel was that savage barbarians showed themselves in so gentle a guise that the largest churches were chosen and set apart for the purpose of being filled with the people to whom quarter was given, where none were slain, and from which none forcibly dragged; into them many were led by their relenting enemies to be set at liberty, and that from them none were led into slavery by merciless foes. Whoever does not see that this is to be attributed to the name of Christ and to his era is blind; whoever sees this, and gives no praise, is ungrateful: whoever hinders anyone from praising it, is mad. Far be it from any prudent man to impute this

clemency to the savage barbarians. Their fierce and evil minds were awed, and bridled, and marvellously tempered by him who so long before said by the prophet, *I will visit their transgression with the rod, and their iniquities with stripes; nevertheless, my loving-kindness will I not utterly take from them.*¹ (Tr. M. Dods, altered.)

For a more patriotic view, see Jerome, 158.

178 The Two Cities

Augustine, *De Civitate Dei*, XI.1

The city of God we speak of is the same to which testimony is borne by that Scripture, which excels all the writings of all nations by its divine authority, and has brought under its influence all kinds of minds, and this not by a casual intellectual movement, but obviously by an express providential arrangement. For there it is written *Glorious things are spoken of thee, O city of God.*² And in another psalm we read, *Great is the Lord, and greatly to be praised in the city of our God, in the mountain of his holiness, increasing the joy of the whole earth.*³ And, a little after, in the same psalm, *As we have heard, so have we seen in the city of the Lord of hosts, in the city of our God. God has established it for ever.* And in another, *Streams of the river make glad the city of our God, the most High has sanctified his tabernacle. God in the midst of her shall not be moved.*⁴ From these and similar testimonies, all of which it were too long a task to cite, we have learned that there is a city of God, and its Founder has inspired us with a love which makes us covet its citizenship. To this Founder of the holy city the citizens of the earthly city prefer their own gods, not knowing that he is the God of gods, not of false, i.e. of impious and proud gods, who, being deprived of his unchangeable and freely communicated light, and so reduced to a kind of poverty-stricken power, eagerly grasp at their own private privileges, and seek divine honours from their deluded subjects; but of the pious and holy gods, who are better pleased to submit themselves to one, than to subject many to themselves, and who would rather worship God than be worshipped as God. But to the enemies of this city we have replied in the ten preceding books, according to our ability and the help afforded by our Lord and King. Now, recognizing what is expected of me, and not unmindful of my promise, and relying, too, on the assistance of our very Lord and King, I will endeavour to treat of the origin, and progress, and deserved destinies of the two cities (the earthly and the heavenly), which, as we said, are in this present world commingled, and as it were entangled together. (Tr. M. Dods, altered.)

¹ Ps. 89(88).32,33

² Ps. 87.3

³ Ps. 48.1,8

⁴ Ps. 46.4

While it is impossible in a book such as this to delineate the thought of Augustine on the two cities, it is felt that some mention should be made of his great work, the origin of which was rooted in the disasters of his time.

The translations from the Psalms in the above passage are from the text in CSEL XXXX, p.511. Students should consult N. H. Baynes, *The Political Ideas of St Augustine's De Civitate Dei*, Historical Association Pamphlet No. 104 (London 1936).

E THE PELAGIAN CONTROVERSY

179 A Beginning of Controversy with Pelagius

Augustine, *Confessions*, X.29.40

And all my hope is nowhere but in thy exceeding great mercy. Give what thou commandest and command what thou wilt. Thou enjoimest continence on us, and *when I knew*, says someone, *that no man can be continent unless God give it, this also was a part of wisdom to know whose gift she is.*¹ By continence indeed we are bound up and brought back into the One, whence we were dissipated into the many. For he loves thee too little who loves anything with thee, which he does not love because of thee. O love that burns and art never extinguished, O charity (*caritas*), my God, set me aflame. Thou commandest continence: give what thou commandest and command what thou wilt. (LF, altered.)

With the above cf. Augustine, *De Dono Perseverantiae*, 53:

And although I published them before the Pelagian heresy existed, in them I certainly said to our God and I said it often, 'Give what thou commandest and command what thou wilt.' Pelagius at Rome could not endure these words of mine, when they were recalled by a certain brother and fellow-bishop of ours in his presence, but, objecting somewhat warmly, almost quarrelled with the one who mentioned them. But what does God demand primarily and particularly except that we believe in him? And therefore he gives that, if we say to him sincerely: 'Give what thou commandest.' (A. M. Lesousky, *The De Dono Perseverantiae of St Augustine*, p.193, slightly altered.)

dissipated into the many: cf. Plotinus, *Enn.* VI.9.4.

Pelagius at Rome: Pelagius was at Rome in 405, and probably had, previously to that, been much in the city.

180 Original Sin

'Ambrosiaster', *In Ep.ad Romanos*, 5.12

In whom, that is, in Adam, *all have sinned*. He (Paul) uses the masculine

¹ Wisd. 8.21

(*in quo*) though he is speaking about the woman, because his reference was not to the sex, but to the race. So it is clear that all have sinned in Adam collectively, as it were (*quasi in massa*). He was himself corrupted by sin and the race that he begat were all born under sin. From him therefore all are sinners, because we are all produced from him. (Cf. Kelly, *Doctrines*, p. 354.)

The mistranslation in the Old Latin version (*in quo*) made this verse a crucial point in Augustine's view of the Fall, cf. *Contra duas Epistolas Pelagianorum*, IV.4.7:

But people speak in this way, who wish to wrest men from the apostle's words into their own thought. For where the apostle says, *By one man sin entered into the world, and death by sin, and so passed upon all men*,¹ they wish the meaning to be not that sin passed over, but death. What then is the meaning of the words that follow *In whom (in quo) all have sinned*? For the apostle says that all have sinned either in that one man, of whom he had said, *By one man sin entered into the world*, or 'in that sin' or certainly 'in death'. [The masculine gender (*in quo*) need occasion no difficulty as death (θάνατος) is masculine in Greek.] Let them therefore choose which they like: *either* in that man all have sinned, and it is thus put because when he sinned, all were in him; *or* in that sin all have sinned, because, in general terms it was the sin of all; which all will bear from their birth; or the final alternative is that 'in death' all have sinned. But how this can be so understood, I do not clearly see. For all die in the sin, they do not sin in the death. (Tr. R. E. Wallis, *The Anti-Pelagian Writings of St Augustine*, III, pp. 335f, altered.)

[But as in Greek the word for 'sin' is feminine (ἁμαρτία) it remains that all men are understood to have sinned in that first man, because all were in him, when he sinned; whence sin is derived by our being born, and is not remitted save by our being born again. Augustine then goes on to quote part of the passage from 'Ambrosiaster' above as from 'sanctus Hilarius'.]

For *Ambrosiaster* see p.385.

181 Augustine's Conception of Freedom

Augustine, *De Civitate Dei*, X.30

...[describing the eternal felicity of the City of God]...

It does not follow that they will not have free choice because sins will have no power to attract them. Nay rather, it will be more truly free, when set free from the delight of sinning to enjoy the steadfast delight

¹ Rom. 5.12

of not sinning. For the first freedom of choice, which was given to man when he was created upright, gave the ability not to sin, but also the ability to sin. This new freedom will be the more powerful just because it will not have power to sin; and this, not by its unaided natural ability, but by the gift of God . . . God is unable to sin; he who partakes of God has received from him the inability to sin . . . The first immortality, which Adam lost by sinning, was the ability not to die [*posse non mori*], the new immortality will be the inability to die [*non posse mori*]. In the same way, the first freedom of choice conferred the ability not to sin [*posse non peccare*]; the new freedom will confer the inability to sin [*non posse peccare*] . . . It surely cannot be said that God himself has not freedom of choice, because he is unable to sin? (Tr. Bettenson, *DCC*, p.81.)

For Augustine freedom means not the freedom of responsible choice but the freedom of unimpeded activity. He speaks of *liberum arbitrium* but he thinks of *libera voluntas*.

182 Pelagius' Doctrine of Human Freedom

Pelagius, *Pro libero arbitrio*, ap. Augustine, *De gratia Christi*, 5

'We classify', says he, 'these faculties thus, arranging them into a certain graduated order. We put in the first place *posse*, power; in the second, *velle*, volition; and in the third, *esse*, or realization. The power we place in our nature; the volition in our will; and the realization in accomplishment. The first of these faculties expressed in the term *posse* is especially assigned to God, who has bestowed it on his creature; the other two, indicated in the terms *velle* and *esse*, must be referred to the human agent, because they flow forth from the fountain of his will. In his willing, therefore, and doing a good work consists man's praise; or rather this praise belongs both to the human being and to God, who has bestowed on him the "power" of exercising his actual will and action, and who evermore by the help of his grace assists this very power. That a man possesses this power of willing and effecting any good work comes from God alone. So that this one faculty may exist even where the other two have no being; but the converse is not true—that these latter can exist without that former one. It is, therefore, at my own option not to have a good inclination and not to do a good action; but I am not able not to have the possibility of good. This power is inherent in me whether I will or no; nor does nature at any time receive in this point an option for itself. Now the meaning of all this will be rendered clearer by an example or two. That we are able to see with our eyes is no power of ours; but it is in our power that we make a good or a bad use of our eyes. So again that I may, by applying

a general case in illustration, embrace all, the fact that we have the power of accomplishing every good thing by action, speech and thought comes from him who has endowed us with this possibility, and also assists it. Accordingly—and this is a point which needs frequent repetition because of your calumny of us—whenever we say that a man can live without sin, we also give praise to God by our acknowledgement of the power which we have received from him, who has bestowed such power upon us; and there is here no occasion for praising the human agent, since it is God's matter alone that is, for the moment, in question: for the discussion is not about willing, or effecting, but simply and solely about that which may possibly be.' (Tr. P. Holmes, *The Anti-Pelagian Writings of St Augustine*, II, pp. 5f. altered.)

183 Pelagius: Letter to Demetrias, 414

Pelagius, *Ep. ad Demetriadem*, 16: text in *PL* XXX.15ff. XXXIII.1109ff

The renunciation of the world by the rich and noble Demetrias, of the family of the Anicii, just before her marriage, was one of the most sensational renunciations of this period. She had fled with the survivors of her family to Africa after the fall of Rome. Her renunciation is the subject of Augustine, *Ep.* CL, and of Jerome, *Ep.* CXXX.

De Plinval, *Pélage*, pp. 245ff, thinks that in this letter Pelagius, conscious of being in competition with these two great authors, produced a work 'worthy of comparison with their most famous passages'.

Let us stop here, O virgin, for a moment and think of the precious pearls with which the bride of Christ should be adorned, taking the Apostle's words one by one.

Do all things, he says. For we ought not to choose just some of the commandments of good at our own inclination, but to fulfil them all, as a whole. Nor ought we to look down upon some of his precepts as presents of poor and small worth; but to have regard in everything to the majesty of him who lays his commands upon us. No commandment of God can be held by us in slight esteem, if we keep our thoughts fixed upon its Author.

*Without murmurings and disputings.*¹ We see masters of mean condition and low origin openly looked down upon by bits of servants; who, in respect of the smallest commands, as often as not resist them to their face. But this does not arise with persons of good birth. The more powerful the master, the more ready the servants to obey; and the more difficult their commands, the more readily are they listened to. At the command of a king all are so well prepared and so equipped

¹ Phil. 2.14

in readiness to obey that they wish to be commanded; and, not only do they believe themselves good servants if they do what is commanded, but, as if they were good servants for having been commanded; so, in proportion to the rank of him who gives them their commands, they regard their service as a privilege. In our case, God himself, that eternal Majesty, that ineffable and inestimable Sovereignty, has sent us the holy Scriptures, as the crown of his truly adorable precepts; and, so far from receiving them at once with joy and veneration, and taking the commands of so illustrious a Sovereign for a high privilege (especially as there is no thought of advantage for him who gives the command, but only of profit for him who obeys it), on the contrary, with hearts full of scorn and slackness, like proud and worthless servants, we shout in God's face and say, 'It's hard! It's difficult! We can't! We are but men, encompassed by the frailty of the flesh!' What blind folly! What rash profanity! We make the God of knowledge guilty of twofold ignorance: of not knowing what he has made, and of not knowing what he has commanded. As if, in forgetfulness of human frailty, which he made, he had laid upon men commandments which they could not bear; and at the same time (the shame of it!) we ascribe unrighteousness to the Just One, and cruelty to the Holy One, first by complaining that he has commanded something impossible, and next by thinking that a man will be condemned by him for things that he could not help; so that (sacrilegious it is even to hint it), God seems to have been seeking not so much our salvation as our punishment. And so the Apostle, knowing that from a God of righteousness and majesty no precept is impossible, keeps far from us the fault of murmuring; which as a rule comes to birth either when what is commanded is unfair, or not worthy of the person of him who gives the command. Why do we shuffle to no purpose, and confront him who lays his commands upon us with the frailty of our flesh? No one knows better the measure of our strength than he who gave us our strength; and no one has a better understanding of what is within our power than he who endowed us with the very resources of our power. He has not willed to command anything impossible, for he is righteous; and he will not condemn a man for what he could not help, for he is holy. (Kidd, *Documents*, II, pp. 160–2, slightly altered.)

184 The Pelagians: *Causa Finita Est*, 417

Innocent I of Rome, *Ep.* 29: Augustine, *Sermo* CXXXI.10

The North Africans had been rebuffed by a council held at Diospolis in Palestine on 20 December 415 at which Pelagius had been acquitted of accusations of heresy. The North Africans, however, refused to accept this decision. The council of 416 at Carthage wrote to Innocent, as did the council

of Milevis in the same year. They show great respect for the judgement of the Roman See on the Pelagians (which contrasts with African independence on purely African appeals to Rome (see 193–5 below)). Innocent replied on 27 January 417.

In inquiring about those things which should be handled with all care by priests, and especially by a true, just, and catholic council, by preserving, as you have done, the example of ancient tradition, and by being mindful of the discipline of the Church, you have truly strengthened the vigour of our religion, no less now in consulting, than before in passing sentence. For you decided that it was proper to refer to our judgement, knowing what is due to the Apostolic See, since all we who are set in this place desire to follow the very apostle from whom the very episcopate and the whole authority of this name has emerged; following whom, we know how to condemn the evil and to approve the good. So also, you have by your priestly office preserved the institutions of the Fathers, and have not spurned that which they decreed by a sentence not human but divine, that whatever is done, even though it be in distant provinces, should not be ended until it comes to the knowledge of this See, that by its authority the whole just pronouncement should be strengthened, and that from there the other Churches (like waters proceeding from their natal sources and flowing through the different regions of the world, as the pure streams of an uncorrupt head) should take up what they ought to enjoin, whom they ought to wash, and whom that water, worthy of clean bodies, should avoid as defiled with uncleansable filth. (Giles, *Documents*, p.201, slightly altered.)

Augustine's comment now was:

What was said about the Jews, is entirely applicable to them. *They have zeal for God*¹ . . .

My brethren, have compassion with me. When you find such men, do not hide them; have no misdirected pity. Once more where you find such men, do not hide them. Refute those who contradict, and those who resist bring to us. For already the decision of two councils on this question have been sent to the Apostolic See; and replies have also come from there. The case is finished; would that the error might sometime be finished also! So we warn them to take notice, we teach them for their instruction, let us pray that they change their views. (Partly from Giles, *op. cit.*, p. 204.)

¹ Rom. 10.2–3

185 Caelestius' Denial of Original Sin, and Appeal to Pope Zosimus

Augustine, *De peccato originali*, 5,6,26

- 5 But in the book which he published at Rome, and which was produced in the proceedings before the Church there, he so speaks on this question as to show that he really believed that about which he professed to doubt. For these are his words: 'That infants however ought to be baptized for the remission of sins, according to the rule of the Church universal, and according to the meaning of the Gospel, we readily admit. For the Lord has determined that the kingdom of heaven should only be conferred on baptized persons; and since the resources of nature do not possess it, it must necessarily be conferred by God's free grace.' . . .
- 6 . . . 'That infants, however, must be baptized for the remission of sins, was not admitted by us with the view of our seeming to affirm original sin (*peccatum ex traduce*), which is very alien from the sentiment of Catholics, but because sin is not born with a man, it is subsequently committed by the man; for it is shown to be a fault, not of nature, but of the human will. It is fitting, indeed, to confess this lest we should seem to make different kinds of baptism: it is, moreover, necessary to lay down this preliminary safeguard, lest by the occasion of this mystery evil should, to the disparagement of the Creator, be said to be conveyed to man by nature, previous to man's having committed it at all.' . . .
- 26 . . . This accordingly is the language which Caelestius used in the ecclesiastical process at Carthage: 'As touching the transmission of original sin,' he said, 'I have already asserted that I have heard many persons of acknowledged position in the Catholic Church deny it altogether; and on the other hand many affirm it; it may fairly indeed be deemed a matter for inquiry, but not a heresy. I have always maintained that infants require baptism. What else does he want?' . . .
. . . On the same principle, in the book which he published at Rome, he first explained his belief so far as it suited his pleasure on all the articles of the Creed, from the Trinity of the one Godhead down to the Resurrection of the Dead, as it is to be: on all which points, however, no one had ever questioned him, or been questioned by him. And when his discourse reached the question which was under consideration, he said: 'If, indeed, any questions have arisen beyond the compass of the Creed, on which there might be, perhaps, dissension on the part of a great many persons, in no case have I pretended to pronounce a decision on any dogma, as if I possessed a definite authority in the matter myself; but whatever I have derived from the fountain of the prophets and the apostles, I have presented for determination to the sentence of your Apostolic office; so that if any

error has crept in among us, human as we are, through our ignorance, it may be corrected by your decision and sentence. (Tr. P. Holmes, *The Anti-Pelagian Writings of St Augustine*, II, pp. 51f, 68, slightly altered.)

186 The Council of Carthage, 417: Canons on Sin and Grace

Mansi, *Concilia*, III. 811

- 1 If any one says that Adam, the first man, was created mortal, so that, whether he sinned or not, he would have died from natural causes, and not as the wages of sin, let him be anathema.
- 2 If any one says that new-born children need not be baptized, or that they are baptized for the remission of sins, but that no original sin is derived from Adam to be washed away in the laver of regeneration, so that in their case the baptismal formula 'for the remission of sins' is to be taken in a fictitious and not in its true sense, let him, etc.
- 3 That there is in the Kingdom of Heaven, or in any other place, any middle place, where children who depart this life unbaptized live in bliss . . .
- 4 That the grace of God, by which man is justified through Jesus Christ our Lord, avails only for the remission of sins already committed, and not for assistance to prevent the commission of sins . . .
- 5 That this grace . . . only helps us to avoid sin in this way; that by it we are given by revelation an understanding of God's commands that we may learn what we ought to strive for and what we ought to avoid, but that it does not give us also the delight in doing, and the power to do, what we have recognized as being good.
- 6 That the grace of justification is given to us that we may more easily perform by means of grace that which we are bidden to do by means of our free choice; as if we could fulfil those commands even without the gift of grace, though not so easily . . .
- 7 That the words of the Apostle St John, "*If we say that we have no sin,*"¹ etc." are to be taken as meaning that we should say that we have sin not because it is true but out of humility . . .
- 8 That in the Lord's prayer the saints say "*Forgive us our trespasses*"² not for themselves, because for them this prayer is unnecessary, but for others among their people who are sinners . . .
- 9 That the saints say these words out of humility and not because they are true. (Tr. Bettenson, *DCC*, pp. 83-4.)

¹ 1 John 1.8

² Matt. 6.12

This illustrates the determination of the North Africans that Pelagianism should not escape condemnation. Augustine employed great energy, including letters to Atticus, Archbishop of Constantinople and Cyril of Alexandria (*Letters* 4 and 6, Divjak) to this end. At first, it seemed as though Innocent's successor Zosimus (417–18) would also support Pelagius and Caelestius (see 185). But the Council of Carthage pronounced decisively against the Pelagian views, Imperial edicts were issued against the Pelagians, and in 418 Zosimus accepted the African views. Many bishops subscribed unwillingly and eighteen, mainly from south Italy, were deposed for refusing. They included Julian of Eccanum.

187 Nature and Grace

Augustine, *De Natura et Gratia*, III.3—VI.6

'Two short chapters (III.3–4) virtually sum up Augustine's thought on the subject of Grace, and afford an admirable summary of his doctrine' (G. Bonner, *St Augustine of Hippo*, p. 324).

- 3 Truly the nature of man was originally created blameless and without any vice; but that nature of man, with which each is born of Adam, now needs a physician because it is not healthy. Every good thing, indeed, which it possesses in its constitution, life, senses, intellect, it has from the most high God, its Creator and Maker. But the vice which darkens and weakens those good gifts of nature, so that it needs illumination and healing, was not derived from its blameless Maker, but from original sin which was committed through free choice; and on this account a penal nature is a part of a most righteous punishment. For if we are now *in Christ a new creature*,¹ still we were by nature children of wrath, even as the rest also; but God, who is rich in mercy, for his great love wherewith he loved us, even when we were dead in sins, quickened us together with Christ, by whose grace we have been made whole.²
- 4 But this grace of Christ, without which neither infants nor aged can be made whole, is not paid for merits, but is given gratis; and for this reason is termed 'grace'. As the Apostle says, *Being justified freely* (gratis) *through his blood*,³ wherefore those who are not by this means set free (either because they have not yet been able to hear, or because they refused to obey, or even because, when by reason of age they could not hear, they received not the washing of regeneration which they might have received and been saved), are certainly righteously condemned; since they are not without sin, either that which they derived from their birth, or that which they added by their evil lives. *For all have sinned* (either in Adam or in themselves), *and need the glory of God*.⁴

¹ 2 Cor. 5.17

² Eph. 2.3–5

³ Rom. 3.24

⁴ Rom. 3.23

- 5 Therefore the whole 'lump'¹ is under an obligation to suffer punishment; and if the due punishment of condemnation were inflicted on all, undoubtedly there would be no injustice in so doing. Hence, those who by grace are set free from this punishment are called not 'vessels of their own merits', but *vessels of mercy*;² of whose mercy, if not his who sent *Christ Jesus into this world to make sinners whole*,³ *whom he foreknew and predestinated, and called, and justified, and glorified*?⁴ Who, then, can be so utterly out of his mind as not to give ineffable thanks for the mercy of him who frees whom he has willed, since he could in no way rightly impugn his justice if he condemned the whole of mankind together?
- 6 If we thus believe according to the Scriptures, we are not compelled to argue against Christian grace, and make statements with the intention of proving that in little children human nature does not need a physician, because it is sound, and that in older people it can be sufficient of itself for righteousness if it wills. To be sure, such arguments seem sharp; but the sharpness lies in *wisdom of word, whereby the Cross of Christ is made of none effect*.⁵ That is not *the wisdom that comes down from above*;⁶ I will not go on with the quotation, lest we should be thought to be injuring our friends, whose very strong and active minds we wish to set running, not in the wrong, but in the right course. (Woods and Johnston, *St Augustine, Anti-Pelagian Treatises*, pp. 89–91, slightly altered.)

4. *of age*: i.e. of youth.

5. *the whole lump* (massa): 'a mass or lump, used to describe the total of unregenerate humanity, from whom God, with inscrutable mercy and regardless of merit, chooses his elect, who are to be delivered from the eternal pains which they have most justly deserved' (Bonner, *op. cit.*, p. 326, q.v. for further use of 'massa').

6. *our friends*: notwithstanding the intensity of their divergence, Augustine maintained an attitude of friendship and respect to his opponent.

188 Augustine on Pelagianism, 428

Augustine, *De Haeresibus*, 88

Augustine wrote his book *De Haeresibus* in 428 in response to a request by Quodvultdeus, a deacon of Carthage, who had asked him to write a brief account of heresies for the benefit of ill-instructed clergy. Pelagianism is the last heresy with which the book deals.

The Pelagian heresy, at this present time the most recent of all, owes its rise to the monk Pelagius. Caelestius followed him so closely as his

¹ Cf. Rom. 9.21

² Rom. 9.23

³ 1 Tim. 1.15

⁴ Rom. 8.29,30

⁵ 1 Cor. 1.17

⁶ James 3.15

teacher, that their adherents are also called Caelestians. These men are such opponents of the grace of God . . . that without it, as they believe, man can do all the commandments of God. But, if this were true, God would evidently have said in vain, *Without me, ye can do nothing.*¹

After a time, Pelagius was accused by the brethren of ascribing nothing to the grace of God for the purpose of keeping his commandments. He admitted the charge so far as, not indeed to put grace before free will, but to supplant it by faithless cunning, and to say that it was given to men in order that what they are commanded to do by their free will they may the more easily be able to accomplish with the help of grace. Of course, by saying 'the more easily be able' he wished it to be believed that, though with more difficulty, still men are able without grace, to do the commandments of God. That grace, however, without which we cannot do anything that is good, they say consists simply in free will, which, without any preceding merits of ours, our nature received from him: God merely assisting us by his law and doctrine in order that we may learn what to do and what we ought to hope for, not in order that, by the gift of his Spirit, we may do what we have learned ought to be done. They confess in this way there is given to us divine knowledge whereby ignorance is dispelled, but they deny that love is given to us whereby we may lead a religious life: so that whereas knowledge, which, without love puffeth up, is the gift of God, love itself, which edifieth² so that knowledge should not puff up, is not the gift of God. They empty of their meaning the prayers which the Church makes: whether for the unbelieving and those that refuse the doctrine of God, that they may return to God; or for the faithful, that faith may be increased in them and that they may persevere therein. These things, they argue, a man does not receive from God, but from himself; and they say that the grace of God, whereby we are delivered from irreligion, is given us according to our merits. This (doctrine), indeed, Pelagius, at his trial before the bishops in Palestine, when he was afraid of being condemned, was forced to condemn; but, in his later writings, he is found to teach it. They even go as far as to say that the life of the righteous in this world has no sin, and thus the Church of Christ in this mortal state is so perfected as to be altogether *without spot or wrinkle.*³ As if it were not the Church of Christ throughout the world which cries to God, *Forgive us our debts.*⁴

They also deny that infants, born according to Adam after the flesh, contract by their first (*i.e.* natural) birth the infection of the ancient death. So they assert that they are born without any bond of original sin: with the result, of course, that there is in them nothing that has to be released at their Second (or New) Birth. The reason why they are

¹ John 15.5² 1 Cor. 8.1³ Eph. 5.27⁴ Matt. 6.12

baptized is that by their New Birth they may be adopted and admitted into the kingdom of God, carried from good to better—not, by that renewal, delivered from any evil of ancient entail. For even if they are not baptized, they promise them eternal life and bliss of a sort, though not within the kingdom of God. Adam also himself, they say, even if he had not sinned, would have undergone bodily death; though, if he so died, it would have been due not to the deserts of his guilt, but to the conditions of his nature. Several other things are charged against them. But these are especially the points on which it may be understood how all, or nearly all, the rest depend. (Kidd, *Documents*, II, pp.246–7, slightly altered.)

F OLD AGE

189 The Last Days of Augustine

Possidius, *S. Augustini Vita*, 28–9

- 28 These days, therefore, that he lived through and endured, almost at the very end of his life, were the bitterest and most mournful of all his old age. For he had to see cities overthrown and destroyed and with them some resident citizens and the buildings on their estates wiped out by a murderous enemy, and others put to flight and scattered. He saw churches denuded of priests and ministers; holy virgins and men vowed to the monastic life dispersed, some among them succumbing to tortures, others perishing by the sword, others taken captive and losing innocence of soul and body, and faith itself, in evil and cruel slavery to their foes.

He saw the hymns and divine praises ceasing in the churches, the buildings themselves in many places burnt down, the solemn sacrifices owed to God no longer offered in the appointed places, the holy sacraments no longer wanted, and, if they were wanted, ministers of them hard to find.

[The whole country was filled with refugees, who endured appalling misfortunes: among these were numerous clergy.]

Of the countless churches, he saw only three survive, those of Carthage, Hippo, and Cirta, which by God's favour were not uprooted; and their cities still stand, buttressed by human and divine support. (After his death the city of Hippo was burnt to the ground by the enemy after being abandoned by its inhabitants.) And amidst these calamities he used to console himself with the maxim of a certain wise man who said: 'He will not be great who thinks it a great matter when sticks and stones fall and mortals die.'

[The Vandals besieged Hippo for nearly fourteen months, during which Possidius and other bishops took refuge there.]

- 29 One day, when we happened to be at table with him and talking, he said to us: 'You know that, in these days of disaster for us, my prayer to God is that he will either consent to liberate this besieged city or, if he thinks otherwise, will give his servants strength to go through with what he wills for them or, so far as I am concerned, will take me from this world unto himself.'

Then, using the words he gave us, we joined him in making the same petition to God on high for ourselves and for all our flocks and for those who were in the city with us. And what should happen but that in the third month of the siege he went to bed with a fever and entered upon his last illness. The Lord was not going to withhold from his servant the answer to his prayer. He obtained in due time what he had asked for through his tears and prayers both for himself and for his city. (F. R. Hoare, *The Western Fathers*, pp. 229–31, altered.)

The Vandals invaded Africa in 429. Hippo was besieged from May 430 to July 431. Augustine died, aged 76, on 28 August 430.

a certain wise man: Plotinus, *Enn.* I. 4.7: Augustine quoted this on other occasions, and in any case the sentiment was a commonplace in ancient literature; see, e.g., the note of M. Pellegrino in his edition of Possidius (1955), p. 226.

18 *Church Discipline in the West: Appeals to Rome to 430*

190 Innocent I of Rome on Penance and Remarriage after Divorce, 405

Innocent I., *Ep.* VI.5,6,12

5 You (Exuperius, bishop of Toulouse) have also asked what rule should be observed in the case of those who, after baptism, have given themselves over all their days to the pleasures of incontinence and then, at the very end of their life, demand penance and reconciliation to communion.

6 In these cases, former rules were harder; later rules have made room for compassion and been more considerate. Former custom held that penance should be allowed; but communion refused. Those were times of frequent persecutions; and so, lest, by granting opportunity of communion, men should be put at their ease about reconciliation and not prevented from lapse, communion was rightly refused: penance, however, was permitted, lest there should be a total refusal. The demands of the times made absolution harder. But after our Lord gave peace to his Churches, and fears are now put aside, it has been decided to give communion to the departing: both on account of the divine compassion, as a *viaticum* for those about to start on their journey, and, also lest we should seem to be following the sharp and harsh rule of the heretic Novatian, who refused to give absolution. Let the last communion then be allowed as well as penance: that men of this sort, even at the last, by permission of the Saviour, be saved from eternal ruin . . .

12 You have also asked about those who, after divorce, have married again. It is clear that both parties are adulterers. Those who, while the wife is living, although their marriage has been dissolved, hasten to another union cannot be other than adulterers: so much so that the women to whom the persons in question have united themselves, have themselves evidently committed adultery, according to that which we read in the Gospel: *Whosoever shall put away his wife and shall marry another, commits adultery: likewise he that marries her when she is put away, commits adultery.*¹ All such then are to be debarred from the communion of the faithful. (Kidd, *Documents*, II, pp.158–9, slightly altered.)

¹ Matt. 19.9

191 The Safeguarding of Clerical Morals, 420

Cod. Theod. XVI.2.44

It is not seemly that a man who lives a commendable life of stern discipline in this world should be tarnished by the association of a so-called 'sister'. If any person, therefore, relies upon any rank whatever in the priesthood, or is distinguished by the honour of the clergy, he shall know that consorting with extraneous women is forbidden to him. This concession alone is granted to him, that he may have within the bounds of his own home his mother, daughters, and sisters german; for in connection with these, the natural bond permits no perverse crime to be considered.

Chaste affection, moreover, demands that those women who obtained lawful marriage before their husbands assumed the priesthood should not be deserted; for those women who have made their husbands worthy of the priesthood by their association are not unsuitably joined to clerics. (Pharr, p. 448.)

The problem of clerical morals had long troubled bishops and councils, cf., for example, Cyprian, *Ep.* IV; the council of Antioch about Paul of Samosata c. 268 (*NER* 228); canon 3 of Nicaea (*NER* 290, p. 339 *q.v.* for other references); cf. also 145 above. Now the Imperial authorities step in with a suitably pragmatic ruling.

192 Directions of Honorius about Disputed Papal Elections, c. 420

Letter of Honorius, sect. 3-4; text in *Collectio Avellana*, 37 (*CSEL*, XXXV.1, pp. 83f)

This imperial letter was sent in reply to a letter of Boniface, whose illness had caused the supporters of the defeated Eulalius to resume activities. On disputed elections cf. 56 above. Theodosius II followed the same policy at Constantinople in 428, when Philip of Side and Proclus were rival candidates.

- 3 Finally, we will that, by announcement of your Holiness, it should be made known to all clerics that, if anything, contrary to our desires, should, by any human eventuality, happen to your Religiousness, they are all to understand that they must abandon their intrigues; and if two of them, by the rashness of rival candidates, should by any chance be ordained, certainly neither of them shall become bishop; but permanent possession of the Apostolic See shall only be accorded to him who shall be chosen from among the body of clerics by a new ordination, in accordance with the judgement of God and the assent of
- 4 all. Wherefore good heed is to be taken that, in accordance with the warning of our Serenity, all maintain a quiet mind and a pacific

temper, and do not seek to attempt anything by seditious conspiracies; for, Our resolve is that partisanship will not be to the advantage of anyone. (Kidd, *Documents*, II, p.195, altered.)

193 Appeals from Africa to Rome: The Case of Apiarius, 418

Letter of the council of Carthage of May 419, in *PL*, XX. 752ff as Boniface, *Ep.* 11

Apiarius, a presbyter of Sicca Veneria, had been excommunicated by Urban his bishop. He appealed to Rome, and Zosimus sent him back with a delegation consisting of Faustinus, bishop of Potentia, and the Roman presbyters Philip and Asellus. 'They arrived with "commands and letters" from Zosimus to the African Church: and among their papers was a commonitory in which they were instructed to negotiate on the appeal of bishops to the Pope, and the excommunication of Bishop Urban, or his summoning to Rome, if he did not reform his ways.' (Giles, *Documents*, p. 225.)

In the meantime Zosimus died and the council of Carthage replied to Boniface his successor. The council was headed by Aurelius of Carthage and Valentinus, primate of Numidia, and there were present 217 other bishops.

2 The presbyter Apiarius, concerning whose ordination, excommunication, and appeal no small scandal arose not only at Sicca but also in the whole African Church, has been restored to communion upon his seeking pardon for all his sins. First our fellow-bishop Urban of Sicca doubtless has corrected whatever in him seemed to need correction. But because we had to keep in mind the peace and quiet of the Church not only in the present but also in the future, since so many such incidents had gone before, that it was incumbent to be on our guard against like or even graver evils hereafter, it seemed good to us that the presbyter Apiarius should be removed from the Church of Sicca, retaining only the honour of his office, and that he should exercise the functions of the presbyterate wherever else he wished and could, having received a letter to this effect. This we granted without difficulty at his own petition made in a letter.

3 But truly before this case should be thus closed, among other things which we were treating of in daily discussions, the nature of the case demanded that we should ask our brothers, Faustinus our fellow-bishop, and Philip and Asellus our fellow-presbyters, to set forth what they had been enjoined to treat of with us that they might be inserted in the ecclesiastical acts. And they proceeded to make a verbal statement, but when we earnestly asked that they would present it rather in writing, then they produced the commonitory. This was read to us and also set down in the acts, which they are bringing with them to you. In this they were bidden to treat of four things with us, first

about the appeal of bishops to the bishop of the Roman Church, second that bishops should not unbecomingly sail to Court, thirdly concerning the handling of the cases of presbyters and deacons by contiguous bishops, if they had been wrongly excommunicated by their own, and fourthly about the bishop Urban who should be excommunicated or even summoned to Rome, unless he should have corrected what seemed to need correction.

- 4 Of all these, concerning the first and third, that is that it is allowed to bishops to appeal to Rome and that the cases of clerics should be settled by the bishops of their own provinces, already last year we have taken pains to recommend, in our letter to the same Bishop Zosimus of venerable memory, that we were willing to observe these provisions for a little while without any injury to him, until the search for the statutes of the council of Nicaea had been finished. And now we ask of your Holiness that you would cause to be observed by us the acts and constitutions of our Fathers at the council of Nicaea, and that you cause to be followed by you there, those things which they brought in the commonitory.

[Here follow two 'canons of Sardica', that numbered 3B(6) on p. 16 above, and that numbered 14(17) in Hefele-Leclercq, I ii, p. 795 (On appeals by clergy (unjustly deposed)).]

- 5 These are the things which have been inserted in the acts until the arrival of genuine copies of the Nicene council, based on the truest records; if these things are contained there as originally determined (as alleged in the commonitory, which our brethren brought to us from the Apostolic See) and are even kept according to that order by you in Italy, in no way could we be compelled either to endure such treatment as we are unwilling to mention or could suffer what is unbearable: but we believe that through the mercy of our Lord God, while your Holiness presides over the Roman Church, we shall not have to suffer pride such as this, and there will be kept towards us what should be kept with brotherly love to us who are making no dispute. You will also perceive according to the wisdom and the justice which the most Highest has given you, what should be observed, if perchance the canons of the council of Nicaea are other (than you suppose). For although we have read very many copies, yet we have never read in the Latin copies that there were any such decrees as have been sent in the commonitory from Rome. So too, because we can find them in no Greek copy here, we have desired that there should be brought to us from the Eastern Churches copies of the decrees, for it is said that there correct copies of the decrees are to be found. For this reason we beg your Reverence, that you would deign yourself also to write to the bishops of these parts, that is of the Churches of Antioch, Alexandria, and Constantinople, and to any others also if it shall please your Holiness, that thence there may come to us the same canons decreed

by the Fathers in the city of Nicaea, and thus you would confer by the help of the Lord this signal benefit upon all the Churches of the West. For who can doubt that the copies of the Nicene council which met in the Greek empire are most accurate, which copies although brought together from so diverse and from such noble Greek Churches are found to agree when compared together? And until this be done, the provisions laid down to us in the commonitory aforesaid, concerning the appeals of bishops to the bishop of the Roman Church and concerning the cases of clerics which should be determined by the bishops of their own provinces, we are willing to allow to be observed until the proof arrives and we trust your Blessedness will help us in this according to the will of God. (NPNF, altered.)

2. *having received a letter.* i.e. authorizing others to admit him to communion.

4. *the acts and constitutions of our Fathers at the council of Nicaea:* Zosimus had taken his stand on canon 3 and 3B of Sardica (see 9 above), which he deemed to be Nicene. There was ignorance on other occasions about canons, for example, in the case of Ambrose, cf. Fliche et Martin, *Histoire de l'Église*, IV, pp. 251–2.

5. *These are the things which have been inserted, etc.:* i.e. the council made a provisional acceptance of the text as presented by Zosimus till copies arrived of the canons of Nicaea from Antioch, Alexandria, and Constantinople. When these arrived, and did not, of course, contain Zosimus' canons, the Africans sent them to Boniface towards the end of 419. Cf. 195 (sect. 4) below.

As shown in this and other instances Nicaea was the touchstone of doctrinal orthodoxy and disciplinary rulings. The Papacy, like all other ecclesiastical authorities, was subject to this test of rectitude.

194 Appeals from Africa to Rome: The Case of Antony of Fussala, 422–3

Augustine, *Ep.* CCIX.9–10, to Coelestine

Fussala was a town in the diocese of Hippo, the inhabitants of which had been converted to the Catholic Church following the proscription of Donatism in 412. Augustine had one of his clergy, Antony, consecrated as bishop, but he (Antony) proved to be unbearable as bishop there, and was ordered to leave, while retaining his episcopal rank. He got the ear of the Primate of Numidia, who commended him to Boniface. The bishop of Rome, without hearing the other side, reinstated Antony, subject to the saving clause 'if he has truthfully told us the facts'. Augustine now explains to Coelestine (422–30) that Antony's account was untrue.

He wrote a much longer and more detailed account of the affair to Fabiola, a wealthy Roman lady who had taken Antony under her wing while the latter was again in Rome, putting his case to Coelestine. It was a crisis for Augustine, for in his anxiety to hold the area for Catholicism, he was at fault in consecrating as bishop someone who was not even of canonical age to be a deacon (below

the age of 25). (See *Letter 20*, published by J. Divjak in *CSEL*, 88, and the discussion in C. Lepelley, ed., *Les Lettres de Saint Augustin découvertes par Johannes Divjak*, Études Augustiniennes, Paris 1983).

- 9 Since, then, the most blessed Pope Boniface, speaking of Bishop Antony, has in his epistle, with the vigilant caution becoming a pastor, inserted in his judgement the additional clause, 'if he has truthfully told us the facts,' receive now the facts which in his statement to you he passed over in silence, and also the transactions which took place after the letter of that man of blessed memory had been read in Africa, and in the mercy of Christ extend your aid to men imploring it far more earnestly than he does from whose turbulence they desire to be freed. For either from himself, or at least from very frequent rumours, threats are held out that the law courts, and the public authorities, and military violence are to give effect to the decision of the Apostolic See; the effect of which is that these unhappy men, being now Catholic Christians, dread greater evils from a Catholic bishop than those which, when they were heretics, they dreaded from the laws of Catholic emperors. Do not permit these things to be done, I implore you, by the blood of Christ, by the memory of the Apostle Peter, who had warned those placed over Christian people against violently *lording it over their brethren*.¹ I commend to the gracious love of your Holiness the Catholics of Fussala, my children in Christ, and also Bishop Antony, my son in Christ, for I love both, and I commend both to you. I do not blame the people of Fussala for bringing to your ears their just complaint against me for inflicting on them a man whom I had not proved, and who was in age at least not yet established, by whom they have been so afflicted; nor do I wish any wrong done to Antony, whose evil covetousness I oppose with a determination proportioned to my sincere affection for him. Let your compassion be extended to both—to them, so that they may not suffer evil; to him, so that he may not do evil; to them, so that they may not hate the Catholic Church, if they find no aid in defence against a Catholic bishop extended to them by Catholic bishops, and especially by the Apostolic See itself; to him, on the other hand, so that he may not involve himself in such grievous wickedness as to alienate from Christ those whom against their will he endeavours to make his own.
- 10 As for myself, I must acknowledge to your Blessedness, that in the danger which threatens both, I am so racked with anxiety and grief that I think of retiring from the responsibilities of the episcopal office, and abandoning myself to demonstrations of sorrow corresponding to the greatness of my error, if I shall see (through the conduct of him in favour of whose election to the bishopric I imprudently gave my vote) the Church of God laid waste, and (which may God forbid) even

¹ 1 Pet. 5.3

perish, involving in its destruction the man by whom it was laid waste. (Tr. J. G. Cunningham, altered.)

9. *My son in Christ*: Antony had been brought up by Augustine in his monastery at Hippo. We do not know how the case of Antony ended, but it is evident that appeals to Rome on disciplinary matters were not uncommon; only, to be accepted the Roman verdict had to accord with the tradition of the North African Church and not be contrary to the Canons of the Council of Nicaea.

195 Appeals from Africa to Rome: The Case of Apiarius Again, 424

Letter of the council of Carthage to Coelestine of Rome: text in *PL*, L 423ff

Apiarius had to leave Sicca Veneria, but he behaved so badly at Tabraca, whither he had betaken himself, that he had to be excommunicated again. 'He knew the road to Rome, and did not hesitate to take it again' (Bardy in Fliche et Martin, *Histoire de l'Eglise*, IV, p. 257). Coelestine received him and sent him back to Africa, with Faustinus of Potentia, who had not, on his previous visit, endeared himself to the African episcopate.

- 1 We could wish that just as your Holiness intimated to us in your letter sent by our fellow presbyter Leo your pleasure at the arrival of Apiarius, so we also could send to you these writings respecting his acquittal with pleasure. Then in truth both our own satisfaction and your recent satisfaction would be more reasonable; nor would that lately expressed by you concerning the hearing of him then to come, as well as that already past, seem hasty and inconsiderate. Upon the arrival, then, of our holy brother and fellow-bishop Faustinus, we assembled a council, and believed that he was sent with that man, in order that, as he (Apiarius) had before been restored to the presbyterate by his assistance, so now he might with his exertions be cleared of the very serious charges made against him by the inhabitants of Tabraca. But the due course of examination in our council discovered in him such great and monstrous crimes as to be too much for even Faustinus, who acted rather as an advocate of the aforementioned person than as a judge, and to prevail against what was more the zeal of a defence counsel, than the justice of a judge. For first he vehemently opposed the whole assembly, inflicting on us many injuries, as though asserting the privileges of the Roman Church, and wishing him to be received into communion by us, on the ground that your Holiness, believing him to have appealed, though he was unable to prove it, had restored him to communion. But this we by no means allowed, as you will also better see by reading the minutes. After, however, a most laborious inquiry carried on for three days, during which in the greatest affliction we investigated the various charges

against him, God the just Judge, strong and long-suffering, cut short by a sudden stroke both the delays of our fellow-bishop Faustinus and the evasions of Apiarius himself, by which he was endeavouring to cloke his foul enormities. For his too strong and shameless obstinacy was overcome, by which he endeavoured to cover, through an impudent denial, the mire of his lusts, and God so wrought upon his conscience and published, even to the eyes of men, the secret crimes which he was already condemning in that man's heart, a very pigsty of wickedness, that, after his crafty denial he suddenly burst forth into a confession of all crimes he was charged with, and at length convicted himself of his own accord of all infamies beyond belief, and changed to groans even the hope we had entertained in our belief and desire that he could be cleared from such shameful blots, except indeed that it was so far a relief to our sorrow, that he had delivered us from the labour of a longer inquiry, and by confession had applied some sort of remedy to his wounds, though, Lord and Brother, it was unwilling, and done with a struggling conscience.

2 Therefore with expression of our due regards to you, we earnestly beg you, that for the future you do not readily admit to a hearing persons coming hence, nor choose to receive to your communion those excommunicated by us, because you, venerable Sir, will readily perceive that this has been laid down also by the Nicene council. For though this seems to be there forbidden in respect of inferior clergy, or laity, how much more did it wish this to be observed in the case of bishops, lest those who had been suspended from communion in their own province might seem to be restored to communion hastily or unfitly by your Holiness.

3 Let your Holiness reject, as is worthy of you, that unprincipled taking shelter with you of presbyters likewise, and the inferior clergy, both because by no ordinance of the Fathers has the Church of Africa been deprived of this authority, and the Nicene decrees have most plainly committed not only the clergy of inferior rank, but the bishops themselves to their own metropolitans. For they have ordained with great wisdom and justice, that all matters should be terminated in the places where they arise; and did not think that the grace of the Holy Spirit would be wanting to any province, by which the bishops of Christ may wisely discern and firmly maintain justice: especially since whosoever thinks himself wronged by any judgement may appeal to the council of his province, or even to a general council (i.e. of Africa) unless it be imagined that God can inspire a single individual with justice, and refuse it to an innumerable multitude of bishops assembled in council. And how shall we be able to rely on a sentence passed beyond the sea, since it will not be possible to send thither the necessary witnesses, whether from the weakness of sex or advanced age, or any other impediment?

- 4 For that your Holiness should send any on your part we can find ordained by no council of Fathers. Because with regard to what you have sent us by the same our brother bishop Faustinus, as being contained in the Nicene council, we can find nothing of the kind in the more authentic copies of that council, which we have received from the holy Cyril our brother, bishop of the Alexandrine Church, and from the venerable Atticus the prelate (*antistes*) of Constantinople, and which we formerly sent by Innocent the presbyter, and Marcellus the subdeacon through whom we received them, to Boniface the bishop, your predecessor of venerable memory.
- 5 Moreover whoever desires you to delegate any of your clergy to execute your orders, do not comply, lest it seem that we are introducing the blinding pride of secular dominion into the Church of Christ which exhibits to all that desire to see God the light of simplicity and the day of humility.
- 6 For now that the miserable Apiarius has been removed out of the Church of Christ for his horrible crimes, we feel confident respecting our brother Faustinus, that through the uprightness and moderation of your Holiness, Africa, without violating brotherly charity, will by no means have to endure him any longer. (NPNF, altered.)

4. *Cyril . . . Atticus*: Augustine had previously been in touch with these bishops on the issue of Pelagianism (see Divjak (ed.), *Letters* 4 and 6).

19 *The Church beyond the Eastern Frontier, 410–450*

196 Religious Peace in Persia: Synod of Seleucia, 410

J. B. Chabot: *Synodicon Orientale*, pp. 254–61

In the eleventh year of Yazdegerd, King of Kings, the Victorious, after peace and tranquillity were re-established for the Churches of the Lord, this King gave liberty and peaceful existence to the congregations of Christ and permitted the servants of God publicly to exalt Christ in their corporate life, whether during their earthly life, or at their death: he stilled the tempest of persecution of all the Churches of God: he scattered the clouds that oppressed the flocks of Christ: he had in fact ordered throughout all his dominions that the temples destroyed by his ancestors should be magnificently rebuilt in his time; that the demolished altars should be carefully restored; that those who had undergone hardships for God, who had suffered prison and torture, should be set free; that the priests and leading Christians and all the sacred alliance of clergy should move about in all freedom and without fear.

[This took place under the primacy of Mar Isaac, bishop of Seleucia and Ctesiphon, catholicus and archbishop of the whole East] by the diligence and care of the apostle, messenger of peace, whom God in his pity sent to the East, the honourable leader Mar Marouta, bishop, who was the mediator of peace and concord between East and West, who applied himself in making one the Churches of the Lord Christ, and employed his efforts towards the establishment in the East of the divers laws and rules, and the true and orthodox canons established in the West by the honourable Fathers the bishops. [Marouta brought a letter from Porphyry of Antioch and other bishops which they asked to be read before the King; this was done, and the King proceeded to summon the bishops to this council. On their meeting they expressed the deepest sentiments of loyalty to the King; they accepted the contents of the 'Western' letter, on the method of appointing bishops, on the regularization of Christian festivals, and on the acceptance of the canons of Nicaea by the synod which the King might be pleased to call.] . . .

[Some days later the bishops had an interview with two high officials who made the following statement to them:]

There was previously a great persecution directed against you, and you

walked in secret; now the King of Kings has granted you complete peace and tranquillity. Thanks to the access which the catholicus Isaac has to the King of Kings, who has been pleased to establish him, as head of all the Christians of the East, and particularly since the arrival here of Mar Marouta, by the favour of the King of Kings, peace and tranquillity are granted to you. [The King made, by his officials, the following declaration:]

‘Everyone that you shall choose, whom you shall know to be fit to govern and direct the people of God, who shall have been established by the bishops Isaac and Marouta, will hold valid office. No one must separate himself from these: whoever opposes them and flouts their will shall be reported to us, and we shall tell the King of Kings, and the malice of such an one shall be punished, whoever he be.’ (Tr. from the French of Chabot, *op. cit.*)

Yazdegerd: ‘friend of peace abroad, and solicitous of peace at home he refused to treat as strangers and enemies the numerous Christians who inhabited his vast Empire’ (J. Labourt, *Le Christianisme dans l’Empire perse*, p. 91). In consequence Persian tradition represents him as an abominable tyrant.

the ‘sacred alliance’: this appears to mean all the clergy, including monks (Chabot, *ad loc.*).

Mar Marouta: bishop of Maipherquat (Martyropolis), had extensive connection with the West, having lived at Antioch, Constantinople, and in Asia Minor. He is mentioned by Socrates (*HE*, VI.15), and by Sozomen (*HE*, VIII.16) in connection with Theophilus of Alexandria and John Chrysostom. See Labourt, *op. cit.*, pp. 87–97

to summon the bishops: the council met on 1 February; thirty-eight signed the Acts of the Council.

peace and tranquillity are granted to you: this led to a great upsurge of Christianity, which eventually led the King to persecute once more, *c.* 420.

197 Theodoret on the Persecutions in Persia

Theodoret, *HE*, V.38(39).1–6

- 1 At this time Yazdegerd, King of the Persians, began to wage war against the Churches, and the circumstances which caused him so to do were as follows. A certain bishop, Abdas by name, adorned with many kinds of virtues, was stirred with undue zeal and destroyed a Pyreum, Pyreum being the name given by the Persians to the temples of the fire which they regarded as their God.
- 2 On being informed of this by the magi Yazdegerd sent for Abdas and first in moderate language complained of what had taken place and ordered him to rebuild the Pyreum. This the bishop, in reply, positively refused to do, and thereupon the King threatened to destroy all the churches, and in the end carried out all his threats, for first he

gave orders for the execution of that holy man and then commanded the destruction of the churches.

3 Now I am of the opinion that to destroy the Pyreum was
4 inexpedient, for not even the divine Apostle, when he came to Athens and saw the city wholly given to idolatry, destroyed any of the altars which the Athenians honoured, but convicted them of their ignorance by his arguments, and made manifest the truth. But the refusal to rebuild the ruined temple, and the determination to choose death rather than do so, I greatly admire, and count to be a deed worthy of the martyr's crown; for building a shrine in honour of the fire seems to me to be equivalent to adoring it.

5 From this beginning arose a tempest which stirred fierce and cruel waves against the nurslings of the true faith, and when thirty years had gone by the agitation still remained kept up by the magi, as the sea is kept in commotion by the blasts of furious winds. Magi is the name given by the Persians to the worshippers of the sun and moon, but I have exposed their fabulous system in another treatise and have adduced solutions of their difficulties.

On the death of Yazdegerd, Bahram, his son, inherited at once the kingdom and the war against the faith, and dying in his turn left them both together to his son. (NPNF, altered.)

According to the Syriac *Passion of Abdas*, it was a presbyter, Hasu, who destroyed the Pyreum, and who confessed outspokenly to his deed before the King. In Elisaeus Vartabed, *History of Armenia*, 9, the Bishop of Saheg is interrogated as to whether *he has killed the fire*.

Yazdegerd: the first, cf. 196 above.

Bahram: the fifth, 420–38.

his son: Yazdegerd II, cf. 200 below.

198 The Charity of Acacius, Bishop of Amida, towards Persian Captives, c. 422

Socrates, *HE*, VII.21.1–4

1 A noble action of Acacius, bishop of Amida, at that time greatly enhanced his reputation among all men. As the Roman soldiery would on no consideration restore to the Persian king the prisoners whom they had taken in devastating Azazene, these prisoners, about seven thousand in number, were dying of starvation, and this greatly
2 distressed the King of the Persians. Then Acacius thought such a matter was by no means to be trifled with; having therefore assembled his clergy, he thus addressed them: 'Our God, my brethren, needs neither dishes nor cups; for he neither eats, nor drinks nor is in want of anything. Since then, by the liberality of its faithful members, the

Church possesses many vessels both of gold and silver, we should sell them, that by the money thus raised we may be able to redeem the prisoners, and also feed them.' Having said these things and many others similar to these, he melted the vessels down, and from the proceeds paid the soldiers a ransom for their captives, whom he supported for some time; and then furnishing them with what was needful for their journey, sent them back to their sovereign. This benevolence on the part of the excellent Acacius, astonished the King of the Persians, as if the Romans were accustomed to conquer their enemies as well by their beneficence in peace as by their prowess in war. They say also that the Persian King wished that Acacius should come into his presence, that he might have the pleasure of beholding such a man; a wish which by the emperor Theodosius' order was soon gratified. (NPNF, altered.)

Acacius had probably already visited Persia as a Roman ambassador in 419–420.

199 The Synod of Dadiso, 424

J. B. Chabot, *Synodicon Orientale*, pp. 285, 293–4, 296

Dadiso was elected catholicus in 421; the Church was in a state of confusion owing to the deposition within a very brief period of two predecessors. He was opposed by a number of clergy, whose influence caused him to be imprisoned by the King. Released by the intervention of ambassadors of Theodosius II, he wished to lay down his office, but those who supported him refused to hear of this and met in synod in a distant town. Some came from distant regions, for example, Merv and Herat.

In the fourth year of Bahram, King of Kings; in the presence of Mar Dadiso, supreme head of the bishops and governor of all Eastern Christendom, there were assembled at Markabta of the Arabs, the bishops thirty-six in number.

[Agapit, metropolitan of Beit Laipat, delivered an account of the previous troubles in the Church, and of salutary interventions by the West:]

You know, assembled Fathers, each time that schism and discord have existed among us, the Western Fathers have been the support and help of this Paternity (i.e. the catholicus), to whom we all as disciples and children are bound and attached, as all the members of the whole body to the head, the queen of these (members). They have delivered and freed us from the persecutions excited against our Fathers and against us by the magi, thanks to the ambassadors, whom they sent to support us at diverse times.

And now that persecution and suffering so press upon us,

circumstances do not permit them to occupy themselves with us as formerly. But like beloved children and faithful heirs, we ought ourselves to work in our own support by means of the authority that is over us . . . the catholicus Mar Dadiso . . .

[This was the ultimate decision of the synod:]

Now, by the word of God, we decree that the Easterns will not be permitted to carry complaints against their patriarch before the Western patriarchs; and that every cause which cannot be determined in the presence of their patriarch shall be left to the judgement of Christ. (Partly from Kidd, *Documents*, II, pp. 198–9.)

This decision seems surprising in view of the aid given to, and acknowledged by, the Persian Church, but may have been agreed as a matter of political necessity.

Labourt, *op. cit.*, p. 124, thinks that Acacius of Amida, on his journey to the King of Kings (198 above) may have supported the opponents of Dadiso, but that the ultimate reason may be the desire to free the Persian Church of all possible suspicion of being allies of the Romans.

200 Persecution in Armenia under Yazdegerd II, King of Persia, 449

Elisaeus Vartabed, *History of Armenia*, c. II., *ap.* V. Langlois, *Collection des Historiens de l'Arménie*, II, pp. 190f

Mir-Nersch, Chief Minister of the commands of the King of Persia, to the inhabitants of great Armenia, greeting!

Know ye that every man who dwells under heaven and does not follow the religion of Mazdeism is deaf, blind, and deceived by the *dev* of Ahriman . . . Ormazd created men; and Ahriman pain, sickness, and death. All misery and evil, and murderous wars are the work of the cretor of evil; but happiness, power, glory, honour, health, beauty, eloquence, and length of days are the work of the creator of good. All that is not of this sort is produced by the creator of evil.

Men who say that he is the author of death, and that good and evil come from him, are in error; in particular the Christians who affirm that God is jealous, and that, just for a fig picked from a tree, he created death and condemn men to undergo it. Such jealousy does not exist among men; still less between God and man. Those men who say so are deaf and blind, and deceived by the *dev* of Ahriman. The Christians also profess another error. They say that God, who created heaven and earth, was born of a virgin named Mary, whose husband was called Joseph; the truth, however, being that he was the son of Panthera, by illicit intercourse. There are many who were deceived by this man. If the country of the Greeks (Romans), in consequence of ignorance, was grossly deceived, and alienated from our perfect

religion, they are the cause of their own loss. Why do you share in their error? You ought to profess the religion that is followed by your Master; as, in God's sight, we shall have to give account for you.

Do not believe your spiritual superiors whom you call Nazarenes; for they are deceivers; what they teach in word they discount in action . . .

What is more serious than anything else, they preach that God has been crucified by men; that he died and was buried, that he rose again and ascended into heaven. Ought you not yourselves to take a just measure of doctrines like that? The *dev* who are evil are not imprisoned and tormented by men; much less God, the Creator of all things. It is therefore monstrous for you to say such things; and, for us, altogether past belief.

And so I admit to you two questions. Either rebut all that is contained in my Edict; or arise, and come to the Gate, and present yourselves before the Supreme Tribunal.

[The names of the bishops who replied to the Edict were Joseph, bishop of Ararat and seventeen others.] Kidd, *Documents*, II, pp. 295–6, altered.)

the dev: Ahriman was the power of darkness and evil, as the passage goes on to state.

he was the son of Panthera: this slander on the Virgin first appears in Origen, *Contra Celsum*, I.28,32, where Origen regards it as Jewish in origin.

your master: i.e. the King.

the bishops who replied to the edict: wrote a solemn declaration of their faith, which the King did not receive.

20 *Liturgy and Discipline in the East to* 400

201 Jerusalem Services: Egeria's Account, c. 384 *Egeria's Travels*, Ch.24–5

- 24.1 Loving sisters, I am sure it will interest you to know about the daily services they have in the holy places, and I must tell you about them. All the doors of the Anastasis are opened before cock-crow each day, and the '*monazontes* and *parthenae*', as they call them here, come in, and also some lay men and women, at least those who are willing to wake at such an early hour. From then until daybreak they join in singing the refrains to the hymns, psalms, and antiphons. There is a prayer between each of the hymns, since there are two or three presbyters and deacons each day by rota, who are there with the *monazontes* and say the prayers between all the hymns and antiphons.
- 2 As soon as dawn comes, they start the Morning Hymns, and the bishop with his clergy comes and joins them. He goes straight into the cave, and inside the screen he first says the Prayer for All (mentioning any names he wishes) and blesses the catechumens, and then another prayer and blesses the faithful. Then he comes outside the screen, and everyone comes up to kiss his hand. He blesses them one by one, and goes out, and by the time the dismissal takes place it is already day.
- 3 Again at midday everyone comes into the Anastasis and says psalms and antiphons until a message is sent to the bishop. Again he enters, and, without taking his seat, goes straight inside the screen in the Anastasis (which is to say into the cave where he went in the early morning), and again, after a prayer, he blesses the faithful and comes outside the screen, and again they come to kiss his hand.
- 4 At three o'clock they do once more what they did at midday, but at four o'clock they have *Lychnicon*, as they call it, or in our language, Lucernare. All the people congregate once more in the Anastasis, and the lamps and candles are all lit, which makes it very bright. The fire is brought not from outside, but from the cave—inside the screen—where a lamp is always burning night and day. For some time they have the Lucernare psalms and antiphons; then they send for the bishop, who enters and sits in the chief seat. The presbyters also come and sit
- 5 in their places, and the hymns and antiphons go on. Then, when they have finished singing everything which is appointed, the bishop rises and goes in front of the screen (i.e. the cave). One of the deacons makes the normal commemoration of individuals, and each time he

mentions a name a large group of boys responds *Kyrie eleison* (in our
6 language, 'Lord, have mercy'). Their voices are very loud. As soon as
the deacon has done his part, the bishop says a prayer and prays the
Prayer for All. Up to this point the faithful and the catechumens are
praying together, but now the deacon calls every catechumen to stand
where he is and bow his head, and the bishop says the blessing over the
catechumens from his place. There is another prayer, after which the
7 deacon calls for all the faithful to bow their head, and the bishop says
the blessing over the faithful from his place. Thus the dismissal takes
place at the Anastasis, and they all come up one by one to kiss the
bishop's hand.

Then, singing hymns, they take the bishop from the Anastasis to the
Cross, and everyone goes with him. On arrival he says one prayer and
blesses the catechumens, then another and blesses the faithful. Then
again the bishop and all the people go Behind the Cross, and do there
what they did Before the Cross; and in both places they come to kiss
the bishop's hand, as they did in the Anastasis. Great glass lanterns are
burning everywhere, and there are many candles in front of the
Anastasis, and also Before and Behind the Cross. By the end of all this
it is dusk. So these are the services held every weekday at the Cross
and at the Anastasis.

8 But on the seventh day, the Lord's Day, there gather in the
courtyard before cock-crow all the people, as many as can get in, as if it
was Easter. The courtyard is the 'basilica' beside the Anastasis, that is
to say, out of doors, and lamps have been hung there for them. Those
who are afraid they may not arrive in time for cock-crow come early,
and sit waiting there singing hymns and antiphons, and they have
prayers between, since there are always presbyters and deacons there
ready for the vigil, because so many people collect there, and it is not
usual to open the holy places before cock-crow.

9 Soon the first cock crows, and at that the bishop enters, and goes
into the cave in the Anastasis. The doors are all opened, and all the
people come into the Anastasis, which is already ablaze with lamps.
When they are inside, a psalm is said by one of the presbyters, with
everyone responding, and it is followed by a prayer; then a psalm is
said by one of the deacons, and another prayer; then a third psalm is
10 said by one of the clergy, a third prayer, and the Commemoration of
All. After these three psalms and prayers they take censers into the
cave of the Anastasis, so that the whole Anastasis basilica is filled with
the smell. Then the bishop, standing inside the screen, takes the
Gospel book and goes to the door, where he himself reads the account
of the Lord's resurrection. At the beginning of the reading the whole
assembly groans and laments at all that the Lord underwent for us, and
11 the way they weep would move even the hardest heart to tears. When
the Gospel is finished, the bishop comes out, and is taken with singing

to the Cross, and they all go with him. They have one psalm there and a prayer, then he blesses the people, and that is the dismissal. As the bishop goes out, everyone comes to kiss his hand.

12 Then straight away the bishop retires to his house, and all the monazontes go back into the Anastasis to sing psalms and antiphons until daybreak. There are prayers between all these psalms and antiphons, and presbyters and deacons take their turn every day at the Anastasis to keep vigil with the people. Some lay men and women like to stay on there till daybreak, but others prefer to go home again to bed for some sleep.

25.1 At daybreak the people assemble in the Great Church built by Constantine on Golgotha Behind the Cross. It is the Lord's Day, and they do what is everywhere the custom on the Lord's Day. But you should note that here it is usual for any presbyter who has taken his seat to preach, if he so wishes, and when they have finished there is a sermon from the bishop. The object of having this preaching every Sunday is to make sure that the people will continually be learning about the Bible and the love of God.

2 Because of all the preaching it is a long time before the dismissal, which takes place not before ten or even eleven o'clock. And when the dismissal has taken place in the church—in the way which is usual everywhere—the *monazontes* lead the bishop with singing to the Anastasis. While they are singing and the bishop approaches, all the doors of the Anastasis basilica are opened, and the people (not the
25.3 catechumens, only the faithful) all go in. When they are all inside, the bishop enters, and passes straight inside the screen of the tomb, the cave itself. They have a thanksgiving to God and the Prayer for All; then the deacon calls every single person to bow his head, and the
4 bishop blesses them from his place inside the screen. Then he comes out, and, as he does so, everyone comes to kiss his hand. Thus the dismissal is delayed till almost eleven or twelve o'clock.

Lucernare is held in the same way as on other days.

5 Except on the special days, which we shall be describing below, this order is observed on every day of the year. What I found most impressive about all this was that the psalms and antiphons they use are always appropriate, whether at night, in the early morning, at the day prayers at midday or three o'clock, or at Lucernare. Everything is suitable, appropriate, and relevant to what is being done.

6 Every Sunday in the year except one they assemble in the Great Church which Constantine built on Golgotha Behind the Cross; the exception is Pentecost, the Fiftieth Day after Easter, when they assemble on Sion. You will find this mentioned below, but what they do is to go to Sion before nine o'clock after their dismissal in the Great Church . . .

[Here a further leaf is missing from the manuscript, as in 16.4. In the

course of the missing passage Egeria begins to describe the celebration of the Epiphany in Bethlehem.]

... 'Blessed is he that cometh in the name of the Lord',¹ and so on. They have to go slowly for the sake of the *monazantes* who are on foot, so they arrive in Jerusalem almost at daybreak, but just before it is light, at the moment when people can first recognize each other. When they arrive, the bishop goes straight into the Anastasis, and everybody goes with him. Extra lamps have been lighted there. Then they have one psalm and a prayer, and the bishop blesses first the catechumens, and then the faithful. He then retires, and all the people return to the places where they are staying to have a rest, but the *monazantes* stay there to sing hymns till daybreak.

8 Just after seven in the morning, when the people have rested, they all assemble in the Great Church on Golgotha. And on this day in this church, and at the Anastasis and the Cross and Bethlehem, the decorations really are too marvellous for words. All you can see is gold and jewels and silk; the hangings are entirely silk with gold stripes, the curtains the same, and everything they use for services at the festival is made of gold and jewels. You simply cannot imagine the number, and the sheer weight of the candles and the tapers and lamps and everything else they use for the services.

9 They are beyond description, and so is the magnificent building itself. It was built by Constantine, and under the supervision of his mother it was decorated with gold, mosaic, and precious marble, as much as his empire could provide, and this not only at the Great Church, but at the Anastasis and the Cross, and the other Jerusalem holy places as well. But I must get back to the point.

10 On the first day they have the service in the Great Church on Golgotha, and all the preaching and all that they read or sing is appropriate to the day. Then, after their dismissal in the church, they go with singing to the Anastasis in the usual way, and the dismissal there takes place at about noon. Lucernare that day takes place in the way which is usual every day.

11 On the second day they assemble in the church on Golgotha, and also on the third, and their rejoicing lasts until noon in Constantine's church on all those three days. On the fourth day they decorate everything and celebrate in the same way on the Eleona (the very beautiful church on the Mount of Olives), on the fifth at the Lazarium, about a mile and a half from Jerusalem, on the sixth on Sion, on the seventh at the Anastasis, and on the eighth At the Cross. The decorations and rejoicing continue for eight days in all these places I have mentioned. (Tr. John Wilkinson, *Egeria and her Travels* (SPCK 1971), pp. 123-7)

¹ Matt. 21.9

On Egeria, see p.387–8.

24.1. '*monazontes and parthenae*': i.e. monks and nuns by the terms used for them in Jerusalem.

2. *dismissal*: = *missa*.

7. *from the Anastasis to the Cross*: an abrupt introduction to this phase of the liturgy. Egeria had no doubt described the Cross in her account of her first arrival in Jerusalem, which has not survived.

8. '*basilica*': As a Westerner, Egeria was more familiar with *ecclesia* as the word for a church. Here she seems to mean the courtyard attached to the church.

10. *basilica*: here the meaning 'church' is clear.

25.1. *Golgotha Behind the Cross*: the name of the whole area.

2. '*not before*': this is Gamurrini's conjecture; the MS reads 'before'.

3. *the cave itself*. Latin: *martyrii speluncae*.

6. *You will find this mentioned below*: Egeria describes this ceremony in ch. 43.

9. *under the supervision of his mother*: thus Eusebius, *Vita Constantium*, 9.41–2.

11. *the Lazarium*: i.e. the church built at the Tomb of Lazarus. This is the first mention of its existence.

202 Penitential Discipline at Constantinople, c. 390

Socrates, *HE*, V.19.1–9

- 1 At this time it was deemed requisite to abolish the office of those presbyters in the Churches who had charge of the restoration of penitents: this was done on the following account:
- 2 [After the Decian persecution and the withdrawal of the Novatianists from the Church, a presbyter was appointed to receive the confession
- 3 of any that had sinned after baptism: this custom still is in use among the various sects, except for the Novatianists, among whom such an
- 4 office is unnecessary], and the Homoiousians, who are now in possession of the Churches, after retaining this function for a considerable period, abrogated it in the time of Nectarius, in
- 5 consequence of what occurred in the Constantinopolitan Church. A woman of noble family, coming to the penitentiary presbyter, made a general confession of those sins she had committed since her baptism,
- 6 and the presbyter enjoined fasting and prayer continually, that together with the acknowledgement of error she might have to show works also
- 7 meet for repentance. Some time after this the same lady again presented herself, and confessed that she had been guilty of another
- 8 crime, a deacon of that Church having lain with her. When this was proved, the deacon was ejected from the Church; but the people were very indignant, being not only offended at what had taken place, but also because the exposure of the fact had brought scandal and
- 9 degradation upon the Church. When, in consequence of this, ecclesiastics were subjected to taunting and reproach, Eudaemon, a

presbyter of that church, by birth an Alexandrian, persuaded Nectarius the bishop to abolish the office of penitentiary presbyter, and to leave everyone to his own conscience with regard to the participation of the sacred mysteries; for thus only, in his judgement, could the Church be preserved from obloquy. (NPNF, slightly altered.)

3. *is unnecessary*: restoration after sins being entirely disallowed.

Socrates was very doubtful of the wisdom of this action. The pragmatic outlook of Nectarius contrasts with the legalistic penitential discipline procedures in the West.

21 *John Chrysostom*

203 Dark Days at Antioch, 387

Owing to the imposition of an extraordinary tax, a riot took place in which a mob attacked and destroyed statues of the Emperor and of members of his family. The *Comes Orientis* took strong action against individuals, and reported the matter to Theodosius, whose prospective vengeance the populace at once began to fear. Flavian the bishop was sent to plead with him, and in his absence John, who was then a presbyter, exhorted, comforted, and rebuked the city in a series of sermons. In the meantime commissioners arrived from Theodosius to apportion the blame.

The title 'Dark Days at Antioch' is taken from D'Alton, *Chrysostom*, p. 125. See also R. Browning, 'The Riot of 387 in Antioch' (*JRS* (1952), pp. 13-20).

1 The Tribunal

John Chrysostom, *Hom XIII.1-2* (References as in Migne, *PG*, XLIX, not as in *LF*.)

- 1 With the same introduction and prelude that I began yesterday and the day before, I shall begin to-day. Now again I shall say, 'Blessed be God!' What a day did we see last Wednesday! and what is the present! On that day how heavy was its gloom! How bright the calm of this present day! This was the day when that fearful tribunal was set in the city, and shook the hearts of all, and made the day to seem no better than night; not because the beams of the sun were extinguished, but because that fear and sadness darkened your eyes . . .
When the greater portion of the city had taken refuge from the fear and danger of that occasion, in secret places, in deserts, and in hollows, terror besetting them in all directions; and the houses were empty of women, and the forum of men, and scarce two or three appeared walking together across it, and even these going about as if they had been animated corpses: at this period, I went to the tribunal to see the end of these transactions; and there, seeing the fragments of the city collected together, I marvelled most of all at this, that although a multitude was around the doors, there was the profoundest silence, as though there had been no man there; all looked at one another; and not one dared to inquire of his neighbour, or to hear anything from him: for each suspected his neighbour; since many already had been dragged away, beyond all expectation, from the midst of the forum, and were now confined within. Thus we all alike looked up to heaven, and stretched out our hands in silence, expecting help from above, and beseeching God to stand by those who were brought to judgement, to

soften the hearts of the judges, and to make their sentence a merciful one . . .

Such was the state of things outside the doors; but when I entered the court, other sights I saw which were still more terrible; soldiers armed with swords and clubs, and strictly keeping the peace for the judges within. For all the relatives of those under trial, wives, mothers, daughters, and fathers, stood before the doors of the law court, and in order that, if it should so happen that anyone were to be led away to execution, yet no one inflamed at the sight of the calamity might raise any tumult or disturbance, the soldiers drove them all afar off, and so preoccupied their mind with fear . . .

And one saw tortures within, and tortures without. Those the executioners were tormenting; these women, the resistless force of nature, and the sympathy of the bowels. Within there was lamentation, and without there was lamentation! of those who were found guilty within, and of their relatives without. It was not these only, but their very judges who inwardly lamented, and endured heavier woes than all the rest, as they were compelled to take part in so bitter a tragedy.

- 2 As for me, while I sat and beheld all this, how matrons and virgins, accustomed only to retired apartments, were now made a common spectacle to all; and how those who were accustomed to lie on a soft couch, had now the pavement for their bed; and how they who had enjoyed so constant an attendance of female servants and eunuchs, and every sort of outward distinction, were now bereft of all these things; and prostrated themselves at the feet of everyone, beseeching him to lend help by any means in his power to those who were undergoing examination, and that there might be a kind of general contribution of mercy from all, I exclaimed, in those words of Solomon, *Vanity of vanities, all is vanity.*¹

1. *Wednesday*: τετράς, the fourth day of the week.

in the present: i.e. John appears to be preaching exactly one week after the events described.

2 The Intervention of the Monks

Ibid., XVII.1-2

- 1 When those who were sent by the Emperor erected that fearful tribunal for making inquisition into the events which had taken place, and summoned everyone to give account of the deeds which they had perpetrated, and various anticipations of death pervaded the minds of all; then the monks who dwelt on the mountain-tops showed their own true philosophy. For although they had been shut up so many years in their cells, at no one's entreaty, by no one's counsel, yet when they

¹ Eccles 1.2

beheld such a cloud overhanging the city, they left their caves and huts, and flocked together in every direction, as if they had been so many angels arriving from heaven. Then might one see the city likened to heaven, while these saints appeared everywhere, by their mere aspect consoling the mourners, and leading them to an utter disregard of the calamity. For who on beholding these would not have derided death, would not have despised life? And not only was this wonderful, but that when they drew near the magistrates themselves, they spoke to them with boldness on behalf of the accused, and were all ready to shed their blood, and to lay down their heads, so that they might snatch the captured from the terrible events which they expected. They also declared that they would not depart until the judges should spare the population of the city, or send them themselves together with the accused to the Emperor. 'He', said they, 'who rules over this world of ours is a godly man, a believer, one who lives in the practice of piety. We therefore shall assuredly reconcile him. We will not give you leave, nor permit you to stain the sword with blood, or cut off a head. But if you do not desist, we also are quite resolved to die with them. We confess that the crimes committed are very heinous; but the iniquity of those deeds does not surpass the humanity of the Emperor.' One of them is also reported to have uttered another saying, full of philosophy: 'The statues which have been thrown down are again set up, and have resumed their proper appearance; and the mischief was speedily rectified; but if you put to death the image of God, how will you be again able to revoke the deed! Or how to reanimate those who are deprived of life, and to restore their souls to their bodies?' Many things too they said to them of the Judgement.

But the monks, poor as they were, having nothing more than a mean garment, who had lived in the coarsest manner, who seemed before to be of no estimation, men that were familiar with mountains and forests; as if they had been so many lions, with a great and lofty soul, whilst all were fearing and quaking, stood forth and relieved the danger, and that, not in the course of many days, but almost instantaneously! And as distinguished warriors without coming into close conflict with their adversaries, but merely by making their appearance in the ranks, and shouting, put the foe to rout, so also these in one day descended, and said their say, and removed the calamity, and returned to their own tabernacles. Such is the fortitude that was brought among men by Christ.

The vicinity of Antioch swarmed with monks.

1. *their own true philosophy*: John regards the monastic life as the perfect embodiment of the ideals of philosophy. He contrasts in this sermon (sect. 5) the behaviour of the professional philosophers, who had fled from Antioch.

The result of this intervention was that Caesarius, one of the Emperor's commissioners, went to Constantinople to see Theodosius, and his arrival may

have influenced the latter to concede Flavian's plea, with which the next extract deals.

3 Flavian before Theodosius *Ibid.*, XXI.3

John states that he had heard what happened from an eyewitness, and speaks himself as in the person of Flavian.

The demons have lately used all their efforts, that they may effectually rend from your favour that city which was dearest of all to you. Knowing this then, demand what penalty you will, but let us not become outcasts from your former love! Nay, though it is a strange thing, I must say, display towards us now still greater kindness than ever; and again write this city's name among the foremost in your love;—if you are indeed desirous of being revenged upon the demons who were the instigators of these crimes! For if you pull down, and overturn, and raze the city, you will be doing those very things, which they have long been desiring. But if you dismiss your anger, and again avow that you love it even as you did before, you have given them the fatal blow. You have taken the most perfect revenge upon them by showing, not only that nothing whatever has come for them of their evil design, but that all has proved the very opposite of what they wished. And you would be just in acting thus, and in showing mercy to a city, which the demons envied on account of your affection; for if you had not so exceedingly loved her, they would not have envied her to such a degree! So that even if what I have asserted is extraordinary, it is nevertheless true, that what the city has suffered has been for you, and for your love! What burning, what devastation, so bitter as those words, which you pronounced as excusing yourself?

You say now, that you have been insulted, and sustained wrongs such as no Emperor ever yet did. But if you will, O most gracious, most wise, and most religious Sovereign, this contempt will procure you a crown, more honourable and splendid than the diadem you wear! For this diadem is a display of your princely virtue, but it is also a token of the munificence of him who gave it; but the crown woven from this your humanity will be entirely your own good work, and that of your own love of wisdom; and all men will admire you less for the sake of these precious stones, than they will applaud you for your superiority over this wrath. Were your statues thrown down? You have it in your power again to set up others yet more splendid. For if you remit the offences of those who have done you injury, and take no revenge upon them, they will erect a statue to you, not one in the forum of brass, nor of gold, nor inlaid with gems; but one arrayed in that robe which is more precious than any material, that of humanity and tender mercy! Every man will thus exalt you upon his own soul and you will have as

many statues, as there are men who now inhabit, or shall hereafter inhabit, the whole world! For not only we, but all those who come after us, and their successors, will hear of these things, and will admire and love you, just as if they themselves had experienced this kindness! (LF, altered.)

204 The End of the Schism of Antioch, 388

Socrates, *HE*, V.15.1–8

- 1 After the death of Paulinus, the people who had been under his
- 2 superintendence refused to submit to the authority of Flavian, but
- 3 caused Evagrius to be ordained bishop of their own party. As he did
- 4 not survive his ordination long, no other was constituted in his place,
- 5 Flavian having brought this about: nevertheless those who disliked
- 6 Flavian on account of his having violated his oath, held their
- 7 assemblies apart. Meanwhile Flavian 'left no stone unturned', as the
- 8 phrase is, to bring these also under his control; and this he soon after
- effected, when he appeased the anger of Theophilus, then bishop of
- Alexandria, by whose mediation he conciliated Damasus bishop of
- Rome also. For both these had been greatly displeased with Flavian, as
- well for the perjury of which he had been guilty, as for the schism he
- had occasioned among the previously united people. Theophilus
- therefore being pacified, sent Isidore a presbyter to Rome, and thus
- reconciled Damasus, who was still offended; representing to him the
- propriety of overlooking Flavian's past misconduct, for the sake of
- producing concord among the people. Communion being in this way
- restored to Flavian, the people of Antioch were in the course of a little
- while induced to acquiesce in the union secured. Such was the
- conclusion of this affair at Antioch. But the Arians of that city being
- ejected from the churches, were accustomed to hold their meetings in
- the suburbs. (NPNF.)

On the schism of Antioch see 36, 80, 143 above. It should be noted that Sozomen, *HE*, VIII.3.3–5, shows that peace was not yet completely restored when John Chrysostom became bishop of Constantinople and that Theodoret, *HE*, V.35.3, speaks of reconciliation effected by Alexander of Antioch (AD 413–24). John was presbyter at Antioch at the time, under Flavian.

3. *having violated his oath*: that he would not seek the see of Antioch while Meletius or Paulinus remained alive (Socrates, *HE*, V.5.6–7).

4. *Theophilus . . . Damasus*: Alexandria and Rome had both been in communion with Paulinus, cf. 80 above.

205. John Chrysostom at Ephesus, 401

Palladius, *Dialogus de Vita St Ioannis Chrysostomi*, XIV–XV.50–1 (Roman figures refer to the columns of text in PG, XLVII. This applies to 206, 207, 209 also.)

‘The bishop of the imperial city reserved for himself the right of intervention anywhere that disorders were apparent’ (Bardy, in Fliche et Martin, *Histoire de l’Église*, IV, p.134). John intervened at Ephesus owing to charges of speculation and simony against Antoninus, the bishop of that city. By the time he went to Ephesus, however, the case had dragged on for about two years, and Antoninus was dead.

XIV At this juncture John received a resolution forwarded from Asia, from
50 the clergy of the Ephesian Church on the one hand, and from the bishops on the other, making requirement of him with an awful adjuration, as follows: ‘Whereas for years past the laws of the Church, and we ourselves, have been in a sad state of confusion for want of good shepherds, we beg your Honour to come and lay down an order issued of God for the Church of Ephesus, so long oppressed, on the one hand by persons holding the views of Arius, on the other by those who make a great show of professing the views we hold, to secure advantage and domination for themselves; especially as there are many who are lurking like savage wolves, eager to seize the episcopal throne by bribery.’

Now John was seriously ill, and it was the stormy season of winter; but he dismissed every difficulty from consideration, and thought only of the settlement of the troubles from which the whole province of Asia was suffering through the inexperience or lack of shepherds . . .

They accomplished the journey to Ephesus on foot, and on their arrival gathered together the bishops of Lydia, Asia, and Caria to the number of seventy. Thus they held the ordination, the majority meeting them in the most friendly spirit, especially the Phrygian bishops; so much did they appreciate the wisdom which fell from his mouth, as it is written, *Wisdom is praised in the streets* — that is, in those that speak; *in the broad places she utters her voice with outspokenness*,¹ that is in the hearts that have been enlarged through manifold distresses, as the Scripture saith, *In distress thou didst enlarge me*.² For wisdom is straitened in those that cultivate tares, and choke the word.

XV [Eusebius of Valentinopolis in Asia, the original accuser of Antoninus,
51 demanded immediate action against six bishops, who held sees through Antoninus’ influence.]

The assembled synod resolved that the inquiry should be held, and the proceedings began with the reading of the minutes of the previous transactions. Then the witnesses were introduced, and also six of those

¹ Prov. 1.20 ² Ps. 4.1

who had given bribes and received ordination. At first they denied the charge; but the witnesses, some of whom were laymen, others presbyters, in whom they had evidently trusted, others again women, held to their assertions, and stated the nature of the pledges exchanged, the places, the dates, and the amount. At last their consciences so much troubled them, that with very little pressure they confessed of their own free will. 'We have given bribes,' they said; 'the thing is admitted, and we have been made bishops, in the expectation that we should be regarded as exempt from civil duties. And now we beg still to be in the ministry of this Church, if there is no impiety in our doing so; or, if that is impossible, that we may receive back the money we have paid. For some of us have given furniture belonging to our wives.'

John in answer promised the synod, that with the help of God he would present a petition to the Emperor, and get them freed from civil duties; and bade them order the accused to recover what they had paid from the heirs of Antoninus. So the synod ordered, that they should recover from the heirs of Antoninus, and should communicate within the sanctuary, but not be reckoned as priests . . .

The minutes of all those proceedings, and the names of the judges, are on record. Further, the investigation was not a matter of a single day, as Theophilus falsely asserted, but of two years. Moreover, those who were deposed acquiesced, thankful to be delivered from the judgement to come; indeed, one of them was appointed advocate for dealing with public affairs. In their places six others were instituted, unmarried men, adorned by graces both of life and speech.

[But after the exile of John, those expelled by him were reinstated.] (H. Moore, *The Dialogue of Palladius*, pp. 125-9, altered.)

XIV. *the ordination*: 'On his arrival at that city, as the people were divided in their choice . . . John, . . . resolved without more ado to end the dispute by preferring to the bishopric a certain Heracleides, a deacon of his own' (Socrates, *HE*, VI.11.9-10). Heracleides was deposed and imprisoned after the fall of John (Palladius, *op. cit.*, XV.52).

XV. *exempt from civil duties*: i.e. from service as decurions, or city councillors, whose financial burdens were extremely heavy. This privilege was first granted to all clergy by Constantine in 313, and is the subject of numerous edicts in the Theodosian code. Fraudulent seeking of holy orders became common among the class of decurions. In the present passage exemption is regarded as belonging to bishops only, cf. *Cod. Theod.* XII.1.49.

advocate: ἐκδίκος, cf. Chalcedon, can. 2 (247 below).

206 John Chrysostom and the Refugee Monks from Egypt, 401–402

Palladius, *Dialogus de Vita S. Ioannis Chrysostomi*, VII–VIII.24–6

Theophilus of Alexandria had persecuted monks for alleged 'Origenism'. These fled first to Palestine, and then fifty of them, among whom were the four 'tall brothers', made their way to Constantinople.

- 24 The fugitives, sorely distressed by this continual movement from place to place, arrived at the capital, where Bishop John had been enthroned under the hand of God for the spiritual care of our rulers; they fell at his feet, begging him to help souls slandered and plundered by men better accustomed to this sort of thing than to doing good.

- John stood up, and saw fifty first-rate men, dressed in garments made grey with holy toil. With his keen sense of brotherly love, he was deeply moved, and bursting, like Joseph, into tears, inquired what wild boar from the forests, or rogue beast, had been doing mischief to this fruitful vine. 'Be seated, father', they answered; 'give us dressing for our ghastly wounds, inflicted through the frenzy of Pope Theophilus, and see if you can bind up our swelling gashes. If *even you* give us no attention, through respect to, or fear of, Theophilus, as the other bishops have done, there is nothing left for us to do, but to go to the Emperor, and inform him of this man's ill-doings, to the disrepute of the Church. If then you have any concern for the good name of the
- 25 Church, receive our petition, and persuade him to allow us our home in Egypt. We have committed no offence, either against the law of the Saviour or against the Pope himself.'

John thought that he would have no difficulty in changing the revengeful feelings of Theophilus towards them, and gladly took the matter in hand. He instructed the men, for the love of God, to keep silence, and to tell no one why they were there, until he should send word to his brother Theophilus. He gave them sleeping-quarters in the church of the Resurrection, but did not supply them with any of the necessities of life. Godly women provided them with food, and they made their own contribution by the labours of their hands.

It happened that at that time there were some of Theophilus' clergy in Constantinople, who had come to purchase promotion from the newly appointed governors in the province of Egypt, and to secure their favour towards him (i.e. Theophilus), in carrying out his plans for the destruction of those who were an annoyance to him. So John called these men, and inquired if they knew the ascetics who were in the city. They frankly gave the men a good character. 'We know them,' they told John; 'it is true that they have been treated with great violence. If it please you, my lord, refuse them communion in the spiritual feast, so as not to annoy the Pope (i.e. Theophilus), but deal kindly with them in everything else. This is becoming to you, as bishop.'

So John did not receive them into communion, but wrote to Theophilus, courteously asking him to do him, as Theophilus' son and brother, the favour of taking the men like little children in his arms. Theophilus refused to do John the favour, and sent to him certain persons well versed in verbal disputes—the men we have just mentioned—instructing them to present requirements, which as usual he dictated himself, containing statements admittedly false, but dressed out with all sorts of calumnies as to the men's spiritual condition, as he had nothing to bring against their outward lives. Thus they were to be pointed at as impostors at the palace.

Seeing that they could not correct Theophilus, but stirred him to greater anger, the ascetics sent a numerous deputation to him, declaring that they anathematized all false doctrine; and presented a petition to John, detailing the various forms of oppression from which they suffered, and some specific points of complaint . . .

John again, both in person and through other bishops, urged them to drop the charges against Theophilus, in view of the mischief which the suit would cause, and wrote to Theophilus: 'They are reduced to such extremities, that they are filing a formal indictment against you; let me know what you propose to do; for I cannot persuade them to leave the capital.'

At this, Theophilus blazed with anger, and suspended the brother of the monks, Bishop Dioscorus, a man who had grown old in the service of the Church, from ministering in his own church; while he wrote to John: 'I think that you are not unaware of the order of the Nicene Canons, in which it is laid down that a bishop shall not exercise jurisdiction beyond his boundaries; if you *are* unaware, learn what it says and leave alone these charges against me. If there was any need for me to be put on my trial, it should be before Egyptian judges, not before you, at the distance of a seventy-five days' journey.'

viii 26 [John did not disclose the contents of the letter, but attempted to make peace. His efforts were fruitless and exasperated both sides. The refugees appealed to the Emperor and Empress, who issued orders for the appearance of Theophilus to stand trial. But when he arrived the result was disastrous for John and his supporters.] (H. Moore, *The Dialogue of Palladius*, pp. 58–61, altered.)

Capital: στρατόπεδον (camp), used at this period of the 'court' church of the Resurrection: cf. 89 above.

as Theophilus' son: because John was consecrated by Theophilus.

the men's spiritual condition: i.e. their Origenist views.

207 Letter of John Chrysostom to Innocent I of Rome, 404

Ap. Palladius, Dialogus de Vita S. Ioannis Chrysostomi, II.8–11: text (and commentary) in J. F. D'Alton, *Chrysostom*, pp. 297–303

This letter was addressed also to Venerius of Milan, and Chromatius of Aquileia.

- 8 To my Lord the reverend and most holy Bishop Innocent, John sends greeting in the Lord.

Your Piety has doubtless heard, before the receipt of this letter, of the daring illegalities committed here; for the magnitude of the crime has left no part of the world in ignorance of this cruel tragedy. Rumour has carried the news to the furthest bounds of the earth, and caused everywhere much grief and sorrow. But as the circumstances call not only for lamentation, but for remedial action, and consideration of the steps to be taken to stay this furious tempest raging within the Church, we thought it necessary to instruct my most honoured and devout gentlemen, the Bishops Demetrius, Pansophius, Pappus, and Eugenius to leave their own Churches, and to face the dangers of a long sea voyage, and set out for a lengthy absence from home; to fly to your Love, explain all the facts clearly, and arrange for the speediest possible redress. With them we have sent the most honourable and well-beloved deacons Paul and Cyriacus. These persons shall take the place of a letter, and quickly inform your Love of what has happened.

The fact is, that Theophilus, to whose hands has been entrusted the bishopric of the Church of Alexandria, when certain persons brought charges against him to our most pious Emperor, was commanded to appear before him alone; but he arrived with a large company of Egyptians, as if anxious to show, from the very beginning, that he came for war and conflict. Next, on landing at the great and godly city of Constantinople, he did not go to church, according to the rule which has prevailed from ancient times, or have any dealings with us, or join with us in conversation, in prayer or in communion, but disembarked, hurried past the porch of the church, and went somewhere outside the city to lodge.

- 9 [John made repeated offers of hospitality, which were refused, nor could he get Theophilus to explain his behaviour.]

But as he still persisted in refusing to state his reason, and his accusers were urgent, the most pious Emperor commanded us to go across to his lodging, and hear his statement of his case; for they kept accusing him of violence, murder, and countless other crimes.

But we had respect and honour for the laws laid down by the Fathers, and for Theophilus himself; and we had in our possession his own letter, in which he said that 'cases ought not to be taken beyond

the boundaries [of a province], but the affairs of each province should be dealt with in that province.' We therefore declined to try the case, and even protested most vigorously.

But Theophilus seemed to think he was dealing with his old enemies; he summoned my chief deacon in a very high-handed manner, as if the Church was already a widow, and had no bishop, and through him brought all the clergy over to his side. Thus the Churches were in a state of disorder; the clergy attached to them were led astray,¹ and persuaded to present memorials against us, and egged on to become our accusers. After this, he sent and called us to come before *him* for judgement, although he had not cleared himself of the charges brought against him; a thing distinctly contrary to the canons and all the laws of the Church. But as we were aware that we were not to come before a judge (we would have appeared ten thousand times before a judge!), but before an enemy and a foe, as his actions before and afterwards showed, we sent to him bishops, Demetrius of Pisinum, Eulysius of Apameia, and Luppicianus of Appiaria, and the priests Germanus and Severus; we answered with becoming moderation, and said that we raised no objection to a trial, but to trial by an open enemy and foe. Seeing that he had as yet received no charges against us, and had from the first acted as he had, and dissociated himself from church, communion and prayer, and was bribing accusers, winning over our clergy, and leaving churches without shepherds, how could he with justice mount the judge's throne, which in no sense became him? For it was out of order for an Egyptian bishop to act as judge in Thrace, when he was himself under accusation, and an enemy and foe of the accused. Yet he was unabashed by all these considerations, and persevered in his design; when we declared that we were ready to clear ourselves of the charges in the presence of a hundred or of a thousand bishops, and to prove ourselves innocent, as we indeed are, he did not allow it. In our absence, in spite of our appeal to a synod, and our request for a trial (it was not a fair hearing, but open hostility, that we wished to avoid), he admitted our accusers, and set free offenders whom I had placed in confinement, and without waiting for them to clear themselves of the charges against them accepted their memorials, and drew up minutes. All this was contrary to rule, and canon, and order. In fact, to make a long story short, he left no stone unturned, until by sheer force and tyrannical action he drove us from the city and the Church.

Late one evening, when I was being escorted through the streets by the whole of the populace, I was arrested by the city governor's agent
 10 in the middle of the city, dragged away by force, and thrust on board a ship, which set sail by night, when I was summoning a synod for a just

¹ Cf. 1. Cor. 12.2

trial. Who could hear of these things without shedding tears, though he had a heart of stone? But, as I said before, they call not only for lamentation, but for redress; I therefore appeal to your Love, to arise and grieve with me, and do all you can to stay these evils. For there is more yet. Even after my departure, Theophilus did not put a stop to the lawless doings of his party, but girded himself for further action.

For when our most pious Emperor expelled those who had so shamelessly and unrighteously intruded themselves upon the church, and many of the bishops, when they observed the lawlessness of my opponents, retired to their own places, so as to avoid their attacks, as they would a universal conflagration, we were recalled to the city and to the church, from which we had been unrighteously expelled, thirty bishops introducing us, and our most reverent Emperor sending a notary for the purpose. Then Theophilus, for no rhyme or reason known to us, at once went off like a runaway slave.

Upon our re-entry into the city, we petitioned the most reverent Emperor to summon a synod to exact retribution for all that had been done.

[But Theophilus and his party avoided the Emperor's summonses, and took themselves off to Egypt.]

However, even after this we did not rest, but persisted in our claim for a trial, with judgement and hearing; for we were ready to prove our innocence, and their outrageous lawlessness. Now he had left behind some Syrians, who had accompanied him, and were his accomplices in the whole matter. We were ready to face these before a judge, and repeatedly pressed our application, claiming that either minutes of the proceedings should be given us, or the memorials of our accusers, or at least that the nature of the charges, or the accusers themselves, should be made known to us; we were granted none of these requests, but were again expelled from our church.

How can I tell you what followed, a tale more harrowing than any tragedy? What words can express it? What ears can hear it without a shudder? While we were pressing the requests I have mentioned, a strong body of soldiers invaded the church, on the Great Sabbath itself, when evening was fast closing in, forcibly expelled all the clergy
 11 who were with us, and surrounded the altar with arms. Women who were in the houses of prayer, unrobed in readiness for baptism on that day, fled naked in face of this savage attack, not even allowed to clothe themselves as womanly decency requires. Many of these were even thrown outside injured, and the fonts were filled with blood, and the holy water dyed red from their wounds.

[These outrages continued, with profanation of the Eucharistic elements and the expulsion of John's supporters from the churches: these kept the Easter festival out of doors. The disorder at Constantinople spread to other churches, and John begs his

correspondents to check this wave of lawlessness. In conclusion he again asks for an unprejudiced trial.] (H. Moore, *The Dialogue of Palladius*, pp. 10–17, altered.)

8. *Theophilus*: bishop of Alexandria from 385 to 412. He presided at the consecration of John, as bishop of Constantinople, at the end of 397 or beginning of 398.

certain persons brought charges against him: i.e. the Egyptian monks, who had fled to Constantinople, see 206 above.

9. *the laws laid down by the Fathers*: in canons 5 and 6 of Nicaea, and canon 2 of Constantinople (381). (*NER* 290, pp. 339–40, and 91 above.)

each province (ἐπαρχία): also equivalent to the sphere of ecclesiastical authority of a metropolitan.

chief deacon, i.e.: ἀρχιδιάκονος.

already a widow: cf. Chalcedon, can. 25. In a vacancy the chief deacon was even more important than when a see was filled, and it was natural that Theophilus should send for him.

the churches: i.e. the various churches in Constantinople.

bribing: lit. *anointing* i.e. 'greasing the palm' (Moore, *op. cit.*, p. 14, n. 1), but D'Alton takes it as 'preparing for a contest' (by anointing the body) (*op. cit.*, p. 308).

in Thrace: i.e. in the civil diocese of Thrace, in which there were six provinces, and of which Heraclea was (now nominally) the (ecclesiastical) metropolis.

when he was himself under accusation: cf. Constantinople (381), can. 6 (91 above).

In our absence . . . he admitted our accusers: John does not write a detailed account to Innocent. He is referring here to the so-called 'Synod of the Oak' held near Chalcedon and packed with supporters of Theophilus, see Sozomen, *HE*, VIII.17.

10. *girded himself*: lit. 'stripped'.

our most reverent Emperor, etc.: John is determined to show that he returned with the Emperor's support, and not on his own initiative.

were again expelled from our church: John says nothing about events as detailed in Socrates, *HE*, VI.18, Sozomen, *HE*, VIII.20–2, including his attack on the inauguration of the silver statue of the Empress Eudoxia. 'Herodias is again enraged: again she dances; again she seeks to have the head of John in a basin' (Sozomen, *HE*, VIII.20). For Palladius' own narrative see *Dialogus*, IX.32 (209 below).

the Great Sabbath: i.e. Easter Eve.

208 The Statue of Eudoxia, c. November 403

Socrates, *HE*, VI.18.1–5

- 1 A silver statue of the Empress Eudoxia dressed in a long robe was erected upon a column of porphyry supported by a lofty base. And this stood but a short distance from the church named *Sophia*, but the road

- through a square separated them. At this statue public celebrations
 2 were accustomed to be performed; these John regarded as an insult
 offered to the church, and having regained his ordinary boldness of
 speech, he employed his tongue against those who did these things.
 3 Now while it would have been proper to induce the authorities by a
 supplicatory petition to discontinue the celebrations, he did not do
 this, but he employed abusive language and ridiculed those who had
 enjoined such practices.
 4 The Empress once more applied his expressions to herself as
 indicating marked contempt toward her own person: she therefore
 endeavoured to procure the convocation of another council of bishops
 5 against him. When John became aware of this, he delivered in the
 church that celebrated oration commencing with these words: 'Again
 Herodias raves; again she is troubled; again she dances; again she
 desires to receive John's head on a platter.' This, of course,
 exasperated the Empress still more. (NPNF, altered.)

1. *Eudoxia*: on the character of the Empress, and her relations with John Chrysostom, see, for example, D'Alton, *Chrysostom*, pp. 313-19.

the church named Sophia: planned, but not built by Constantine the Great: a predecessor of the present St Sophia, which was built under Justinian.

celebrations: 'dancers and mimes', according to Sozomen, *HE*, VIII, 20.1.

2. *having regained*: after his first expulsion. Socrates as elsewhere (cf. 210 below) deprecates John's outspokenness.

5. *that celebrated oration*: the authenticity of the extant oration (*PG*, LIV. 485ff) is doubtful. For Sozomen's version see 207n above.

Herodias . . . dances: Herodias' daughter (Mark 6.22ff).

209 Easter at Constantinople, 404

Palladius, *Dialogus de Vita S. Johannis Chrysostomi*, IX.32-4

This is part of Palladius' account of what is related by John in his letter to Innocent of Rome (207 above).

- 32 [As an appeal to the Emperor and Empress had failed, the forty
 bishops of John's party retired discomfited and dejected.]
 33 However, those of John's presbyters who had the fear of God in
 their hearts, gathered the people in the public baths, called the baths of
 Constantius, and occupied the night vigil in reading aloud the divine
 oracles, or in baptizing the catechumens, as usual at the Paschal
 festival. These proceedings were reported by those corrupters of mine
 and *deceivers*,¹ Antiochus, Severian, and Acacius, to their champions,
 with the demand that the people should be prevented from assembling
 there. The magistrate on duty objected that it was night, and that the

¹ Titus 1.10

crowds of people were large; some regrettable incident might well occur.

[Acacius and his party urged that the churches were empty, and that the assembly in the baths should be dispersed, lest the Emperor realize how much support John had. Under protest, the magistrate sent troops with orders to use persuasion, but on this failing, the Acacians got round the officer in charge and urged him, if need be, to provoke a riot, and then carry on.]

So Lucius at once set out upon his mission, accompanied by the clergy of Acacius' party. This was in the second watch of the night; for in our parts of the world they keep the people at church till the first cock-crow. He took 400 Thracian swordsmen (the same number that Esau had¹), newly enlisted, and absolutely reckless, and at a moment's notice threw himself, like a savage wolf, with the clergy to guide his movements, upon a crowd of people, hacking a way through with flashing swords. He pressed forwards to the blessed water within, to stop those who were being initiated into the Saviour's resurrection, attacked the deacon, and poured away the sacramental elements; he beat the presbyters, men advanced in years, about the head with clubs, until the font was dyed with blood. Sad it was to see that angelic night, in which even demons fall prostrate in terror, turned into a labyrinth. Here were women, stripped for baptism, running by the side of their husbands, glad so to escape in dishonourable flight, in their terror of murder or dishonour; here was a man, with a wounded hand, making off, crying; another fellow dragging after him a maiden whose clothes he had torn off. All of them were carrying away loot which they had pillaged.

34 So those presbyters and deacons who were seized were thrown into the gaol; the better-class lay folk were expelled from the capital. Orders were issued one after the other, containing various threats against those who would not renounce communion with John. Yet in spite of all this, the bishops of whom I have told devoted themselves to their duties in the open air all the more earnestly; and the gathering of those who love Christian teaching, or rather, love God, was not brought to an end. As we read in the book of Exodus,² the more they killed them, the more numerous they were.

So when the Emperor went out next day, to take exercise in the plain beside the city, he saw the waste ground round the fifth milestone clothed in white; and in astonishment at the sight of the newly baptized, thick as blossoms in spring (there were about 3000 of them), he asked the bodyguard what was the great crowd gathered there. Instead of telling him the truth, they said that they were the misbelievers; so as to bring upon them the wrath of the Emperor.

¹ Gen. 32.6 ² Exod. 1.12

Hearing of this incident, those who were responsible for the affair, the champions of envy, sent to the outskirts the most pitiless of their followers, to scatter the audience and arrest the teachers. So once more some few of the clergy, and a large number of the laity, were arrested. (H. Moore, *The Dialogue of Palladius*, pp. 80–3, altered.)

33. *baths of Constantius*: John himself says 'the church' (p. 275 above). Palladius has not reconciled his sources.

Antiochus, Severian, and Acacius: of Ptolemais, Gabala, and Beroea respectively. 'It is interesting to note how frequently Palladius links together the names (of these three), as the chief agents in the conspiracy' . . . (D'Alton, *Chrysostom*, p. 19).

the sacramental elements: τὰ σύμβολα.

labyrinth: i.e. a building where sinister things happened, as in the Cretan labyrinth.

34. *misbelievers*: ἑτερόδοξοι; the guard may really have believed this.

210 The Character of John Chrysostom

Socrates, *HE*, VI.21.2–6

- 2 A man, as I have before observed, who on account of zeal for temperance was inclined rather to anger than forbearance: and his temperance led him to indulge in too great latitude of speech. Indeed,
- 3 it is most inexplicable to me, how with a zeal so ardent for the practice of temperance he should in his sermons appear to despise temperance.
- 4 For whereas by the synod of bishops repentance was accepted but once from those who had sinned after baptism, he did not scruple to say,
- 5 'Approach, although you may have repented a thousand times'. For this doctrine, many even of his friends censured him, but especially
- 6 Sisinnius bishop of the Novatianists, who wrote a book condemnatory of the above-quoted expression of Chrysostom's, and severely rebuked him for it. (NPNF, altered.)

2. *as I have before observed*: in *HE*, VI.3.13–14.

4. '*Approach, etc.*' This is not found in the extant works of John.

5. *Sisinnius, bishop of the Novatianists*: Socrates goes on in his next chapter to describe the witty character and erudition of Sisinnius, for which he was much admired, even by Catholic bishops, especially Atticus of Constantinople. Socrates is generally so well disposed to the Novatianists that some have thought him a member of that sect.

22 *The Church in Alexandria under Theophilus and Cyril to 420: Synesius and Hypatia*

211 The Doubts of Synesius, 409

Synesius, *Ep.* CV

To his brother.

I should be altogether lacking in sense, if I did not show myself very grateful to the inhabitants of Ptolemaïs, who consider me worthy of an honour to which I should never have dared to aspire. At the same time I ought to examine, not the importance of the duties with which they desire to entrust me, but my own capacity for fulfilling them. To see oneself called to a vocation which is almost divine, when after all one is only a man, is a great source of joy, if one really deserves it. But if, on the other hand, one is very unworthy of it, the prospects of the future are sombre. It is by no means a recent fear, but a very old one, the fear of winning honour from men at the price of sinning against God. [There is no better one to whom he can confide his doubts. He has so far followed out all that philosophy has laid upon him, but his talents may be so incapable of doing justice to higher duties, that even his philosophic attainments may fall away.]

Consider the situation. All my days are divided between study and recreation. In my hours of work, above all when I am occupied with divine matters, I withdraw into myself. In my leisure hours I give myself up to my friends. For you know that when I look up from my books, I like to enter into every sort of sport. I do not share in the political turn of mind, either by nature or in my pursuits. But the bishop should be a man above human weaknesses. He should be a stranger to every sort of diversion, even as God himself. A thousand eyes are keeping watch on him to see that he justifies his mission. He is of little or no use unless he is proved and circumspect in character and unyielding towards any pleasure. In carrying out his holy office he should withdraw into himself, but give himself up to all men. He is a teacher of the law, and must utter that which is approved by law. In addition to all this, he has as many calls upon him as all the rest of the world put together, for the affairs of all he alone must attend to, or incur the reproaches of all. Now, unless he has a great and noble soul, how can he sustain the weight of so many cares without his intellect being submerged? How can he keep the divine part unquenched within him when such varied duties claim him on every side? I know

well that there are such men. I have every admiration for their character, and I regard them as really divine men, whom intercourse with human affairs does not separate from God. But I know myself also. I go down to the town, and from the town I come up again, always enveloped in thoughts that drag me down to earth, and covered with more stains than anybody could imagine. In a word, I have so many personal defilements of old date, that the slightest addition fills up my measure. My strength fails me. I have no strength and there is no health in my inward parts, and I am not equal to confronting what is without me, and I am far from being able to bear the distress of my own conscience. If anybody asks me what my idea of a bishop is, I have no hesitation in saying explicitly that he ought to be spotless, more than spotless, in all things, he to whom is allotted the purification of others.

In writing to you, my brother, I have still another thing to say. You will not be by any means the only one to read this letter. In addressing it to you, I wish above all things to make known to everyone my feeling of fear, so that whatever happens hereafter, no one will have a right to accuse me before God or before man, and not least, before the venerable Theophilus. In publishing my thoughts, and in giving myself up entirely to his decision, how can I be in the wrong? God himself, the law of the land, and the blessed hand of Theophilus himself have given me a wife. I, therefore, proclaim to all and call them to witness once for all that I will not be separated from her, nor shall I associate with her surreptitiously like an adulterer; for of these two acts, the one is impious, and the other is unlawful. I shall desire and pray to have many virtuous children. This is one fact, of which the man upon whom depends my consecration must not be ignorant. Let him learn this from his comrades Paul and Dionysius, for I understand that they have become his emissaries by the will of the people.

There is one point, however, which is not new to Theophilus, but of which I must remind him. I must stress my point here a little more, for beside this difficulty all the others are as nothing. It is difficult, if not quite impossible, that convictions should be shaken, which have entered the soul through knowledge to the point of demonstration. Now you know that philosophy rejects many of those convictions which are cherished by the common people. For my own part, I can never persuade myself that the soul is of more recent origin than the body. Never would I admit that the world and the parts which make it up must perish. This resurrection, which is an object of common belief, is nothing for me but something sacred and ineffable, and I am far from sharing the views of the vulgar crowd thereon. The philosophic mind, albeit the discernor of truth, admits the employment of falsehood, for light is to truth what the eye is to the mind. Just as the eye would be injured by excess of light, and just as darkness is more helpful to those of weak eyesight, even so do I consider that the false may be beneficial

to the populace, and the truth injurious to those not strong enough to gaze steadfastly on the radiance of real being. If the laws of the priesthood that obtain with us permit these views to me, I can take over the holy office on condition that I may prosecute philosophy at home and outside talk the language of myth, so that if I teach no doctrine, at all events I undo no teaching, and allow men to remain in their already acquired convictions. But if they say that one must be under these influences, that the bishop must belong to the people in his opinions, I shall make my position clear very quickly. What can there be in common between the ordinary man and philosophy? Divine truth should remain hidden, but the vulgar need a different system. I shall never cease repeating that I think the wise man, to the extent that necessity allows, should not force his opinions upon others, nor allow others to force theirs upon him.

No, if I am called to the episcopate, I declare before God and man that I refuse to preach dogmas in which I do not believe. Truth is an attribute of God, and I wish in all things to be blameless before him. This one thing I will not dissimulate. I feel that I have a good deal of inclination for amusements. Even as a child, I had an inordinate liking for arms and horses. I shall be grieved, indeed greatly shall I suffer at seeing my beloved dogs deprived of their hunting, and my bow eaten up by worms. Nevertheless I shall resign myself to this, if it is the will of God. Again, I hate all care; nevertheless, whatever it costs, I will endure lawsuits and quarrels, so long as I can fulfil this service, heavy though it be, for God; but never will I consent to conceal my beliefs, nor shall my opinions be at war with my tongue. I believe that I am pleasing God in thinking and speaking thus. I do not wish to give anyone the opportunity of saying that I, an unknown man, grasped at the appointment. But let the beloved of God, Theophilus my father, knowing the situation and giving me clear evidence that he understands it, decide on this issue concerning me. He will then either leave me by myself to lead my own life, and to philosophize, or he will not leave himself any grounds on which hereafter to sit in judgement over me, and to turn me out of the ranks of the episcopate. (A. Fitzgerald, *The Letters of Synesius*, pp. 196–201, altered.)

On Synesius, see p. 393

winning honour . . . at the price of sinning: Ibycus, *Fr.* 24, *ap.* Plato, *Phaedrus*, 242 c – d.

Theophilus: the friendship of Synesius and Theophilus throws an interesting light on another side of the character of the latter, of whom little good is usually said, if one considers the violence and intrigue that characterized his ecclesiastical policies. It may be worth while to quote *Ep.* IX in which Synesius writes:

‘Most holy and wise prelate, may a long and fruitful old age await you! A great boon it were to us in other respects, the prolongation of your life; and the

greatest contribution to Christian teaching is your series of Paschal letters, which grows as the years pass. The one that you have this year sent us has both instructed and charmed our cities, as much by the grace of its language as by the grandeur of its thoughts.' (Fitzgerald, *op. cit.*, p. 95, slightly altered.)

to the mind: reading *voûv*, as Fitzgerald.

212 Synesius: *Venit Summa Dies*

Synesius, *Catastasis* (PG, LXVI.1572-3)

The episcopate of Synesius was clouded by troubles of every kind. Here we find him about to evacuate his city in the face of barbarian pressure. All seemed lost, but, as it happened, Ptolemaïs was saved by the opportune arrival of a new general, though the country had been turned into a desert.

Alas for Cyrene, whose public tablets trace the succession from Heracles down even to me! for I should not be accounted a simpleton in my grief amongst men who know of the degradation of my noble ancestry. Alas for the Dorian tombs wherein I shall find no place! Unhappy Ptolemaïs, of which I was the last bishop to be appointed! The horror of it is ever with me. I can speak no longer, tears overpower my voice . . . I am full of the thought of what it will mean to abandon the sacred objects. The crew ought already to have put to sea, but when anyone calls me to the ship I shall beg leave to delay a little longer. I shall go first to the shrine of God, I shall make the circuit of the altar. I shall drench the most precious pavement with my tears; I shall not retreat from the spot before I have said farewell to that portal and that throne. How many times shall I call upon God and turn to him, how often shall I press my hands upon the railings! But necessity is a mighty thing and compulsive. I long to give to my eyes a sleep uninterrupted by the sound of the trumpet. How much longer shall I stand upon the ramparts, how much longer shall I guard the intervals between the turrets? I am weary of picketing the night patrols, guarding others and guarded myself in turn, I who used to hold many a vigil, waiting for the omens from the stars, I am now worn out watching for the onsets of the enemy. We sleep for a span measured by the water clock, and the alarm bell often breaks in upon the portion allotted me for slumber. And if I close my eyes for a moment, what nightmares afflict me! . . .

Pentapolis has incurred the hatred of God. We are surrendered to chastisement. There was the locust than which no evil is more complete, there was the conflagration which consumed the crops of three States even before the enemy came. What is the limit to our evils? If the islands afford a freedom from these, I shall sail as soon as the sea abandons its evil passions. But I fear that disaster may overtake me first. For the day appointed for the attack is near at hand . . .

That moment most of all will warn the priests that they must speedily rally to the precincts of God's temple, if the danger reaches the very walls of the city. I shall remain in my place at the church. I shall place before me the holy vessels of water. I shall cling fast to the sacred pillars which hold up the inviolate table from the ground. There will I sit while I live, and lie when I am dead. I am a minister of God, and perchance I must complete my service by offering up my life. God will not in any case overlook the altar, bloodless, though stained by a bishop's blood. (Fitzgerald, *Essays and Hymns of Synesius I*, pp. 367–8, altered.)

213 The Murder of Hypatia, 415

Socrates, *HE*, VII.15

- 1 There was a woman at Alexandria named Hypatia, daughter of the philosopher Theon, who was so eminent in learning as to surpass all the philosophers of her own time. Having succeeded to the school of Plato and Plotinus, she explained all the principles of philosophy to those who wished instruction, many of whom came from a distance to
- 2 hear her. On account of the self-possession and ease of manner, which she had acquired in consequence of the cultivation of her mind, she appeared in public even in the presence of the magistrates, and did not
- 3 feel abashed in coming to an assembly of men. For all men on account
- 4 of her extraordinary dignity and virtue revered and admired her. Yet even she fell a victim to malicious jealousy. For as she had frequent interviews with Orestes, it was calumniously reported among the Christian populace that it was she who prevented Orestes from being
- 5 reconciled to the bishop. Some of them, therefore, hurried away by a fierce and bigoted zeal, whose ringleader was a reader named Peter, waylaid her returning home; they dragged her from her carriage, took her to the church called Caesareum, where they completely stripped her, and then murdered her with tiles. After tearing her body in pieces, they took her mangled limbs to a place called Cinaron, and there burnt
- 6 them. This affair brought no small opprobrium, not only upon Cyril, but also upon the whole Alexandrian Church. And surely nothing can be further from the spirit of Christians than massacres, fights, and such-like things. (NPNF, altered.)

1. On Hypatia (born c. 370) see, for example, Bury, *History of the Later Roman Empire*, I, pp. 217–19. 'With a pardonable condescension to the tastes of novel-readers, Mr Kingsley (in his *Hypatia*) has described his heroine as still young and beautiful at the time of her cruel death. Twenty years at least before that date Hypatia was already the most distinguished teacher of philosophy in the civilized world. The wonderful influence that she exerted over such a man as Synesius (211–12 above) is itself, a proof of the greatness of her abilities.

Throughout his life, in all his troubles, in spite of all his changes of opinions, he always turned to her with reverence and chivalrous devotion' (*DCB*, s.v. Synesius). The letters of Synesius to Hypatia may be dated between 404 and 407.

4. *Orestes*: Augustal Prefect of Egypt; he and Cyril had fallen foul of one another, as related in Socrates, *HE*, VII, 13.

214 The Attendants of the Sick at Alexandria, 416

Cod. Theod., XVI.2.42

Whereas, among other useless claims of the Alexandrian delegation, this request also was written in their decrees, that the Most Reverend bishop should not allow certain persons to depart from the city of Alexandria, and this claim was inserted in the petition of a delegation because of the terror of those who are called attendants of the sick, it is the pleasure of Our Clemency that clerics shall have nothing to do with public affairs and with matters pertaining to the municipal council.

1 We further direct that the number of those who are called attendants of the sick shall not be more than five hundred. Moreover, the wealthy and those who would purchase this office shall not be appointed, but the poor from the guilds, in proportion to the population of Alexandria, after their names have been submitted, of course, to the Respectable Augustal Prefect and through him referred to Your Magnificence.

2 We do not grant to the aforesaid attendants of the sick liberty to attend any public spectacle whatever or to enter the meeting place of a municipal council or a court-room, unless, perchance, they should appeal to a judge separately in connection with their own cases and interests, when they sue someone in litigation or when they are themselves sued by another, or when they are syndics appointed in a cause common to the entire group. The condition shall be observed that if any one of them should violate the foregoing provisions, he shall be subjected to due punishment, and he shall never return to the same office.

3 [The edict finally gives the Prefect power to appoint successors.]
(Pharr, p. 448.)

attendants of the sick: called παραβάλανοι (from παραβάλλεσθαι, to expose oneself to danger). They became, *as a body*, 'factionous and turbulent, taking a noisy and prominent part in all religious controversies' (*DCA*, s.v., which see for further information).

more than five hundred: in 418 the number was raised to 600, as more were needed, and provision made for keeping up the number, when any should die (*Cod. Theod. ibid.*, 43.)

Some consider that this edict is a direct consequence of the murder of Hypatia (see 213). The *parabolani* continued, however, to provide Cyril with strong-arm support whenever needed, not least at the Council of Ephesus in 431.

Issued by Honorius and Theodosius II to Monaxius, the Praetorian Prefect, 29 September 416.

23 *Cyril, Nestorius and the Council of Ephesus, 431*

215 Nestorius, Bishop of Constantinople, 428

Socrates, *HE*, VII.29

- 1 After the death of Sisinnius, on account of the spirit of ambitious rivalry displayed by the ecclesiastics of Constantinople, the Emperors resolved that none of that Church should fill the vacant bishopric, notwithstanding the fact that many eagerly desired to have Philip ordained, and no less a number were in favour of the election of
- 2 Proclus. They therefore wished to call in a stranger from Antioch; there was a man there named Nestorius, a native of Germanicia, distinguished for his excellent voice and fluency of speech; they
- 3 decided to send for him, as eminently suited to give instruction. After three months had elapsed therefore, Nestorius was brought from
- 4 Antioch, being greatly lauded by most people for his temperance: but of what sort of disposition he was in other respects, those who possessed any discernment were able to perceive from his first sermon.
- 5 Being ordained on 10 April, under the consulate of Felix and Taurus, he immediately uttered those famous words, before all the people, in addressing the Emperor, 'Give me, O Emperor, the earth purged of
- 6 heretics, and I will give you heaven as a recompense. Assist me in destroying heretics, and I will assist you in vanquishing the Persians.'
- 7 Now although these utterances were extremely gratifying to some of the multitude, who cherished a senseless antipathy to the very name of heretic; yet those, as I have said, who were skilful in predicting a man's character from his expressions, did not fail to detect his levity of mind, and violent and vainglorious temperament, inasmuch as he had burst forth into such vehemence without being able to contain himself for even the shortest space of time; and to use the proverbial phrase, 'before he had tasted the water of the city', showed himself a furious persecutor. Accordingly on the fifth day after his ordination, having determined to demolish a chapel in which the Arians were accustomed to perform their devotions privately, he drove these people, i.e. the
- 8 Arians, to desperation; for when they saw the work of destruction going forward in their chapel, they threw fire into it, and set it alight and the fire spreading on all sides destroyed many of the adjacent buildings. A tumult accordingly arose on account of this throughout the city, and the Arians made preparations to take revenge: but God the Guardian of the city suffered not the mischief to gather to a climax.
- 9 From that time, however, they called Nestorius 'incendiary', and it was

not only the heretics who did this, but those also of the household of
 10 faith. For he could not rest, but seeking every means of harassing those
 who did not embrace his own sentiments, he continually disturbed the
 public tranquillity.

11-12 [He attacked the Novatianists, but was restrained by the Emperor; and
 pursued the Quartodecimans throughout various districts of Western
 Asia Minor.] (NPNF, slightly altered.)

1. *Sisinnius*: died in 427.

Philip of Side in Pamphylia: author: see Socrates, *HE*, VII.27.

2. *Proclus*: bishop of Cyzicus, and bishop of Constantinople from 434 to 446.

216 Nestorius, Anastasius, and the Term *Theotokos*, 429

Socrates, *HE*, VII.32

- 1 Nestorius had an associate whom he had brought from Antioch, a
 presbyter named Anastasius; for this man he had high esteem, and
 consulted him in the management of affairs. Anastasius, preaching one
- 2 day in church, said, 'Let no one call Mary *Theotokos*: for Mary was but
 a human being; and it is impossible that God should be born of a
- 3 human being.' This caused a great sensation, and troubled both the
 clergy and the laity, as they had been heretofore taught to acknowledge
 Christ as God, and by no means to separate his humanity from his
 divinity on account of the economy of incarnation, heeding the voice of
 the apostle when he said, *Yea, though we have known Christ after the*
*flesh; yet now henceforth know we him no more.*¹ And again, *Wherefore,*
*leaving the word (of the beginning) of Christ, let us go on unto perfection.*²
- 4 While great offence was taken in the church, as we have said, at what
 was thus propounded, Nestorius, eager to establish Anastasius'
 proposition – for he did not wish to have the man who was esteemed by
 himself found guilty of blasphemy – continually kept on giving
 instruction in church on this subject, and he assumed a controversial
- 5 attitude, and totally rejected the term *Theotokos*. Thus the controversy
 on the subject being taken in one spirit by some and in another by
 others, the discussion which ensued divided the Church, and
 resembled the struggle of combatants in the dark, all parties uttering
- 6 the most confused and contradictory assertions. Nestorius acquired
 the reputation among the masses of asserting that the Lord was a mere
 man, and attempting to foist on the Church the doctrine of Paul of
- 7 Samosata and Photinus; and so great a clamour was raised by the
 contention that it was deemed requisite to convene a general council to

¹ 2 Cor. 5.16

² Heb. 6.1

8 take cognizance of the matter in dispute. Having myself perused the
 writings of Nestorius, I have found him an unlearned man and shall
 candidly express the conviction of my own mind concerning him: and
 as in entire freedom from personal antipathies, I have already alluded
 to his faults, I shall in like manner be unbiased by the criminations of
 9 his adversaries, to derogate from his merits. I cannot then concede that
 he was a follower of either Paul of Samosata or of Photinus, or that he
 ever said that the Lord was a mere man; but he seemed scared at the
 10 term *Theotokos*, as though it were some terrible phantom. The fact is,
 the causeless alarm he manifested on this subject just exposed his
 extreme ignorance: for being a man of natural fluency as a speaker, he
 was considered well educated, but in reality he was disgracefully
 illiterate. In fact he contemned the drudgery of an accurate
 examination of the ancient expositors: and, puffed up with his
 readiness of expression, he did not give his attention to the ancients,
 11 but thought himself above them. Now he was evidently unacquainted
 with the fact that in the *Catholic epistle of John* it was written in the
 12 ancient copies, *Every spirit that separates Jesus is not of God.*¹ The
 mutilation of this passage is attributable to those who desired to
 separate the Divine nature from the human economy: or, to use the
 very language of the early interpreters, some persons have corrupted
 this epistle, aiming at 'separating the manhood of Christ from his
 Deity'. But the humanity is united to the Divinity in the Saviour, so as
 13 to constitute not two persons but one only. Hence it was that the
 ancients, emboldened by this testimony, scrupled not to style Mary
 14 *Theotokos*. For thus Eusebius Pamphilus in his third book of the *Life of*
 15 *Constantine* writes in these terms: 'And in fact "God with us"
 submitted to be born for our sake; and the place of his nativity in the
 16 flesh is by the Hebrews called Bethlehem. Wherefore the devout
 Empress Helena adorned the place where the *Theotokos* gave birth with
 the most splendid monuments, decorating that sacred cave with the
 richest ornaments.'

17 Origen also in the first volume of his *Commentaries* on the apostle's
 epistle to the Romans, gives an ample exposition of the sense in which
 18 the term *Theotokos* is used. It is therefore obvious that Nestorius had
 very little acquaintance with the treatises of the ancients, and for that
 reason, as I observed, objected to the word only: for that he does not
 assert Christ to be a mere man, as Photinus did or Paul of Samosata,
 19 his own published homilies fully demonstrate. In these discourses he
 nowhere destroys the proper personality (ὁπόστασις) of the Word of
 God; but on the contrary maintains that he has an essential and distinct
 20 personality and existence. Nor does he ever deny his genuine existence
 as Photinus and the Samosatene did, and as the Manichees and

¹ 1 John 4.2,3

followers of Montanus have also dared to do. Such in fact I find Nestorius, both from having myself read his own works, and from the assurances of his admirers. But this idle contention of his caused no slight dissension in the religious world. (NPNF, altered.)

2. *Theotokos*: see, for example, Bright, *Sermons of St Leon on the Incarnation*, pp. 127–8, n. 3; Bethune-Baker, *Introduction*, pp. 261–2; Kelly, *Doctrines*, pp. 311–12 etc.; and also 221–2 below.

3. The quotation of Heb. 6.1 is inept. Socrates omits τῆς ἀρχῆς; *sane ad rem de qua agitur, nihil faciunt*. (W. Lowth, *ap. PG*, LXVII.810.)

5. *the struggle of combatants in the dark*: Socrates adopts a lay and ‘common-sense’ attitude to religious controversy.

11. *Every spirit that separates Jesus, etc.*: cf. Leo in his *Tome*, sect. 5 (241).

13. *the third book of the Life of Constantine*: i.e. III.43.2.

17. *Origen . . . epistle to the Romans*: Origen, *Comm. in Rom.* 1.1.5.

217 Nestorius, Bishop of Constantinople, Rebukes his Congregation for their Neglect of the Sacrament of Holy Communion

Nestorius, *Sermon on Heb. 3.1*: text in F. Loofs, *Nestoriana*, pp. 241–2

Notwithstanding passages 215 and 216, it must be remembered that Nestorius was a ‘great moral preacher and pastor of souls’ (J. F. Bethune-Baker, *Nestorius and his Teaching*, p. 111). Towards the conclusion of a theological sermon, he introduces a practical point of conduct. ‘The subject is a familiar one . . . it has often, I think, been less effectively treated’ (Bethune-Baker, *op. cit.*, p. 112).

But there is something amiss with you which I want to put before you in a few words and induce you to amend. For you are quick to discern what is seemly. What, then, is it that is amiss? By and by the holy rites are set before the faithful, a king’s gift of food to his soldiers. But by then the host of the faithful is nowhere to be seen but they are blown away, like chaff, by the wind of indifference, when the catechumens leave. And Christ is crucified in symbol, slain by the sword of the prayer of the priest; but, as at the Cross of old, he finds his disciples fled long since! This is a grievous fault – betrayal of Christ when there is no persecution, desertion of the flesh of their Master by believers under no stress of war! What is the reason for their desertion? is it urgent engagements? Why, what engagement is more binding than one that has to do with the service of God, and one, too, that takes but little time? Is it, then, fear because of your sins, pray? What, then, was it that purified that blessed harlot? was it fleeing from the flesh of the Lord, or fleeing to it for refuge? Shame on us if we show ourselves less compunction than that harlot woman! We ought to tremble at the

Master's words adjuring us – *Verily, verily, I say to you, except you eat the flesh of the Son of Man and drink his blood, you have not life in yourselves.*¹

We ought to be afraid of his rebuking us too and saying to us from heaven – *Were you not able to stay with me one hour?*² (Bethune-Baker, *op. cit.*, pp. 112–13, slightly altered.)

to stay with me: the reading of all MSS, is γρηγορήσαι not παραμείναι, as Nestorius has it.

218 Antiochene Christology

Theodore of Mopsuestia, *On the Incarnation, VII* (Text from ed. H. B. Swete, *Minor Epistles of St Paul* (Cambridge, 1880–2), 2, pp. 1293–7)

If we can discover how the indwelling is effected, then we shall know both the mode in which it is effected and also what makes for differentiation within that mode. Some people have asserted that the indwelling was a matter of essence (*ousia*), others that it was a matter of activity (*energeia*). Let us consider whether either of these is correct. First we must ask whether the indwelling is universal or not. Obviously the answer is 'No'. It is promised by God as something special for the saints or, in general terms, for those whom he wills to devote themselves to him. What would be the point of his promise, '*I will dwell among them and will walk among them and will be their God and they shall be my people*,'³ which implies some kind of special favour to them, if that is something enjoyed by all men in the ordinary run of things? If indwelling then is not universal (and clearly it is not) even for men let alone for all existents, then we need to be able to define some special meaning of 'indwelling' according to which he is present only to those whom he is said to indwell. This makes it quite out of the question to say that indwelling is a matter of essence. For then either we would have to find God's essence only in those whom he is said to indwell and he would be outside everything else, which is absurd since he is of a boundless nature that is everywhere present and not spatially circumscribed at all; or else, if we say that in his essence God is everywhere present, then he must give a share also of his indwelling to everything – not only to all men but also to the irrational and even to the inanimate creation; this would be a necessary corollary of claiming that God's indwelling was a matter of essence. But both these are obviously out of the question. For to say that God indwells everything has been agreed to be the height of absurdity, and to circumscribe his essence is out of the question. So it would be naive in the extreme to say that the indwelling was a matter of essence.

¹ John 6.53

² Matt. 26.40

³ 2 Cor. 6.16; cf. Lev. 26.12

Precisely the same reasoning applies in the case of activity. Either one has to confine it to these particular cases only – and then how could we go on talking about God's foreknowledge of everything, his governing everything, and his acting appropriately in everything? Or else if one allows that his activity is universal in its scope – and that is clearly appropriate and logical since it is by him that everything is empowered with its individual existence and with its own way of functioning – the one will have to say that his indwelling is universal.

So God's indwelling cannot be a matter of essence or of activity. What remains? What other concept can we use which will not destroy its particular character as applying to certain particular people? It is obviously appropriate to speak of indwelling being a matter of good pleasure (*eudokia*). 'Good pleasure' is the name for that very good and excellent will of God which he exercises because pleased with those who are earnestly devoted to him; the word is derived from his 'good' and excellent 'pleasure' in them. Scripture frequently speaks of God being thus disposed. So the blessed David says, 'He will not base his will on the strength of a horse nor will he find his good pleasure in the legs of a man. The Lord has good pleasure in those who fear him and in those who hope in his mercy'.¹ This implies that he does not plan to work with or choose to co-operate with anyone other than those who fear him; they are the ones he values, they are the ones he chooses to co-operate with and to assist. This therefore is the appropriate way to define indwelling. For being of an infinite and uncircumscribed nature he is present to everyone; but in his good pleasure he is far from some and near to others. That is the meaning of these two texts: 'The Lord is near to the broken in heart and will save the humble in spirit'² and 'Do not cast me away from thy presence and do not take the Spirit from me'.³ He comes near in disposition to those who are worthy of such nearness and he goes far away from sinners. It is not a matter of being separated or coming nearer in actual nature; in both cases what happens is a question of attitude of mind.

The argument as we have developed it so far shows why we use the phrase 'good pleasure', and we have discussed the meaning of the term in full detail in order to establish this. We are now in a position to say that just as it is in his good pleasure that God can be both near and far, so too it is in his good pleasure that his indwelling operates. He does not circumscribe his essence or his activity by being present in certain people only and being separated from everyone else; he is present universally in his essence, but he is separated from the unworthy in his attitude and disposition. In this way the uncircumscribed character of his being is fully preserved; it can be seen that he is not in this respect subject to any external necessity. If on the other hand he were

¹ Ps. 147.10–11² Ps. 34.18³ Ps. 51.11

universally present in his good pleasure, this again would make him in a different way subject to external necessity. In that case he would not be determining his presence by choice of will; it would be a matter of his uncircumscribed nature and his will would be simply consequent on that. But as it is he is universally present in nature and separated from those he chooses in will; the unworthy are not benefited by the presence of God which they do have, while the truth is preserved intact of the uncircumscribed character of his nature.

So then in his good pleasure he is present to some and separated from others, just as if he were actually in his essence with the one group and separate from the rest. Moreover, just as the indwelling is a matter of good pleasure, so also in precisely the same way the good pleasure varies the mode of indwelling. That which effects God's indwelling and explains how the one who is universally present in his essence can indwell only some – indeed only a very small proportion – of the whole of mankind is, as I have said, good pleasure; and this good pleasure also qualifies the particular mode of indwelling in every case. Just as God is described as present to all in his essence yet not indwelling all but only those to whom he is present in his good pleasure, so similarly when he is spoken of as indwelling it is not always an identical indwelling but the particular mode of indwelling will depend on the good pleasure. Thus when he is said to indwell the apostles, or more generally the righteous, then it is an indwelling as being well pleased with the righteous, according to the mode of the pleasure he has in the virtuous. But we would never describe the indwelling in his [i.e. Christ's] case as of that kind – that would be sheer madness; in his case it is as in a son; that is the form of good pleasure by which the indwelling took place. What is the significance of this 'as in a son'? It is an indwelling in which he united the one who was being assumed wholly to himself and prepared him to share all the honour which he, the indweller, who is a son by nature, shares. Thereby he has constituted a single person (*prosopon*) by union with him and has made him a partner in all his authority. So everything he does he does in him, effecting even the ultimate testing and judgement through him and through his coming. The difference of course [i.e. between the Word and the man] is one that we can recognize by the distinguishing characteristics of each nature.

Although it is in the future that we shall be perfectly controlled in body and soul by the Spirit, yet even now we have a partial foretaste of this in that we are so assisted by the Spirit that we are not forced to succumb to the reasonings of the soul. In the same way although it was in the end that the Lord had God the Word working in him so perfectly and completely that they were inseparably joined in every action, yet even before that he had the Word bringing to perfection in him to the highest possible degree all that he must do; in that period

before the cross he was being given free room because of the necessity to achieve virtue on our behalf by his own will, though even then he was being stirred on by the Word and was being strengthened for the perfect fulfilment of what needed to be done. He had received union with him right from the start at the moment of his formation in the womb. Then at the age when men normally begin to be able to distinguish between good and bad, indeed even before that age, he demonstrated far more rapidly and quickly than other people this power of discrimination. This ability to discriminate does not arise in the same way and at the same moment for each person. Some with greater insight achieve the goal more quickly; others acquire it with the help of training over a longer period. He was exceptional in comparison with all others and it came to him at an earlier age than is normal; this is not surprising since even at the human level he was bound to have something extra by virtue of the fact that even his birth was not by the normal method of intercourse between a man and a woman but he was formed by the divine working of the Spirit. Thanks to his union with God the Word, which by foreknowledge he was deemed worthy to receive when God the Word from above united him to himself, he had an outstanding inclination to the good. For all these reasons, as soon as he was in a position to discriminate, he had a great antipathy to evil and attached himself to the good with unqualified affection. In this he received the co-operative help of God the Word proportionate to his own native will and so remained thereafter unaffected by any change to the worse. On the one hand this was the set of his own mind, but it was also a matter of this purpose of his being preserved by the co-operative help of God the Word. So he proceeded with the utmost ease to the highest peak of virtue, whether it were a matter of keeping the law before his baptism or of living the life of grace after it; in doing so he provided a type of that life for us also, becoming a path to that goal for us. Then in the end after his resurrection and assumption into heaven, he showed himself worthy of the union even on the basis of his own will, though he had received the union even before this by the good pleasure of his Maker at the time of his very creation. Thus finally he provides a perfect demonstration of the union; he has no activity separate or cut off from God the Word, but he has God the Word as the effective agent of all his actions by virtue of the Word's union with him. (Tr. Wiles and Santer, *Documents of Early Christian Thought*, pp.57–61.)

On Theodore of Mopsuestia see p. 393

enjoyed all men; reading πάντες for παρέντες.

good pleasure: a view directly opposed by Cyril in his Second Letter to Nestorius (see 219 below).

a single person by union . . . a partner. Another point criticized by Cyril (219)

as 'making a show of acknowledging a union of person'.

inseparably joined in every action: a further idea to which Cyril objected.

219 The Second Letter of Cyril to Nestorius, February 430

Cyril of Alexandria, *Ep.* IV (PG, LXXVII.44–50: ACO, I.i.1, pp. 25–8),
text in Bindley-Green, pp. 95–7

The marginal references in this passage and in 222 and 226 are according to Aubert's edition (1638), reproduced in Pusey's edition.

- 22a Certain persons, as I hear, are making free with my reputation before
your Holiness, and that repeatedly, watching the occasion especially
when councils are being held, thinking, it may be, to bring welcome
b news to your ears. And they utter ill-advised speeches, though they
have suffered no wrong at my hands, except that they have been
reprehended, and that deservedly—one for having defrauded the
blind and the poor, another for having drawn his sword upon his
mother, and a third for having stolen money, with a maid-servant for
an accomplice, and as having always borne such a character as no one
would wish his worst enemy to bear.

But I make no great account of these matters lest I should stretch
the measure of my littleness beyond my Lord and Master, or even
c beyond the Fathers. For it is impossible to escape the perverseness of
bad men, however one may order one's life. But they, *having their
mouth full of cursing and bitterness*,¹ shall give account to the Judge of all.

But I shall return to what specially becomes me, and admonish you
as a brother in the Lord, to use all possible circumspection in teaching
d the people, and in setting forth the doctrine of the faith, bearing in
mind that to offend even *one of these little ones who believe in Christ*,²
subjects the person guilty of it to intolerable punishment. And if so
great numbers of persons have been thus injured, how do we not need
all possible care and study that we may do away the offences, and
rightly expound the doctrine of the faith to those who are seeking the
e truth! And in this we shall succeed, if, betaking ourselves to the
statements of the holy Fathers, we are careful to esteem them highly,
and, proving ourselves whether we be in the faith, as it is written,
thoroughly conform our own beliefs to their sound and
unexceptionable doctrines.

- 23a The holy and great council then affirmed that the 'only-begotten
Son', according to nature 'begotten of the Father', 'true God of true
God', 'Light of Light', by whom the Father made all things, 'came

¹ Rom. 3.14

² Matt. 15.6

down, was incarnate, and was made man, suffered, rose again the third day, and ascended into heaven'. We too must also adhere to these words and these doctrines considering what is meant when it is said that the Word which is of God 'was incarnate and was made man'.

For we do not affirm that the nature of the Word underwent a change and became flesh, or that it was transformed into a complete human being consisting of soul and body; but rather this, that the Word, having in an ineffable and inconceivable manner personally (καθ' ὑπόστασιν) united to himself flesh animated with living soul, became man and was called Son of Man, yet not of mere will or favour, nor again by the simple assumption to himself of a human person, and that while the natures which were brought together into this true unity
c were diverse there was of both one Christ and Son: not as though the diverseness of the natures were done away by this union, but rather Godhead and Manhood completed for us the one Lord and Christ and Son by their unutterable and unspeakable concurrence into unity. And thus, although he subsisted and was begotten of the Father before the worlds, he is spoken of as having been born also after the flesh of a
d woman: not that his divine nature had its beginning of existence in the holy Virgin, or needed of necessity on its own account a second generation after its generation from the Father, for it is foolish and absurd to say that he who subsisted before all worlds, and was coeternal with the Father, stood in need of a second beginning of existence, but forasmuch as the Word having 'for us and for our salvation', personally united to himself human nature, came forth of a
e woman, for this reason he is said to have been born after the flesh. For he was not first born an ordinary man of the holy Virgin, and then the Word descended upon him, but having been made one with the flesh from the very womb itself, he is said to have submitted to a birth according to the flesh, as appropriating and making his own the birth of his own flesh.

In like manner we say that he 'suffered' and 'rose again'. Not as though God the Word suffered in his own divine nature either stripes or the piercing of nails, or the other wounds inflicted on him, for the
24a Godhead is impassible because it is incorporeal. But forasmuch as that which had become his own body suffered these things, therefore again he himself is said to have suffered them for us. For the Impassible was in the suffering body.

So likewise we conceive of his death. For the Word of God is by nature both incorruptible, and Life, and Life-giving, but forasmuch as his own body *by the grace of God*, as Paul says, *tasted death for every man*,¹ therefore once more he himself is said to have suffered death for us. Not as though he experienced death as regards his own (divine)

¹ Heb. 2.9

nature—to say or hold which is madness—but that, as I said, just now, his flesh tasted death.

So likewise when his flesh was raised, the resurrection again is spoken of as his resurrection, not as though he had seen corruption, God forbid, but because once more it was his own body that was raised.

Thus we confess one Christ and Lord, not as worshipping a man conjointly with the Word, that there may not through this phrase
c 'conjointly' be insinuated the semblance of division—but as worshipping one and the same (Lord), because the body of the Lord is not alien from the Lord, with which body also he sits with the Father himself: not again as though two sons do sit with the Father, but one united to his own flesh. But if we reject this personal union either as impossible or unseemly, we fall into the error of making two sons. For
d in that case we must needs distinguish and speak of the man in his own person dignified with the appellation of Son, and again the Word which is of God in his own Person possessing by nature the Sonship, both name and thing.

We must not then divide the one Lord Jesus Christ into two sons. To hold this will nowise contribute to soundness of faith, even though some make a show of acknowledging a union of person (προσώπων ἑνωσις). For Scripture does not say that the Word united to himself the person of man, but that *he became flesh*. But this expression *the Word became flesh*¹ is nothing else than that *he became partaker of flesh and blood, like us*² and made our body his own, and came forth a man of a
e woman, not casting aside his being God, and his having been begotten of God the Father, but even in the assumption of flesh remaining what he was.

This is the doctrine which strict orthodoxy everywhere prescribes. Thus shall we find the holy Fathers to have held. So did they make bold to call the holy Virgin *Theotokos*. Not as though the nature of the
25a Word or his Godhead had its beginning from the holy Virgin, but forasmuch as his holy Body, endued with a rational soul, was born of her, to which Body also the Word was personally united, on this account he is said to have been born after the flesh.

Thus, writing even now out of love which I have in Christ, I entreat
b thee as a brother, and charge thee before Christ, and the elect angels, to hold and teach these things with us, that the peace of the Churches may be preserved, and that the bond of harmony and love between the priests of God may remain unbroken. (C. A. Heurtley, *On Faith and the Creed*, pp. 156–61, altered. See also, L. R. Wickham's translation and notes in *Cyril of Alexandria: Select Letters* (Oxford Early Christian Texts, OUP 1983), pp. 1–11.)

¹ John 1.14

² Heb. 2.14

22a. *are making free with my reputation*: as in the days of Chrysostom (206 above) Constantinople was a suitable haven for ecclesiastical refugees from Alexandria.

23a. *the holy and great council*: i.e. Nicaea.

23b. *personally* (καθ' ὑπόστασιν) *united to himself flesh animated with a living soul*: cf. 25a below and 222 (70b) below. This is Cyril's method of safeguarding the idea of *one Lord and Christ and Son* (23c below) and for the same expression cf. 23d and 24c below. This phrase also excludes Apollinarianism.

yet not of mere will or favour, as Theodore of Mopsuestia had said (see 218).

24d. *united to himself the person* (πρόσωπον) *of a man*: in Cyril's view Nestorius constantly used phrases based on πρόσωπον.

24c *Theotokos*: i.e. 'She who bare, as to his human nature, him who is God' (Bindley-Green, p. 103).

25a *to which body also the Lord was personally united*: i.e. 'the two substances united in one person, in opposition to the union of two persons' (Heurtley, op. cit., ad. loc.).

220 Nestorius' Reply to Cyril's Second Letter, June 430

Text in *ACO*, I.i.1, pp. 29-32

- 1 To the most reverend and godly fellowservant Cyril, Nestorius sends greetings in the Lord. I pass over the insults against us in your remarkable letter . . . [I will be brief]. I shall begin with the very wise words of your Charity, quoting them verbatim. What then are the words of the remarkable teaching in your letter? *The holy and great Synod says that the Onlybegotten Son who was by nature begotten from God the Father, true God from true God, the Light from Light, he through whom the Father has made the Universe, descended, was enfleshed, was made man, suffered, rose.*
- 2 These are the words of your Piety, and perhaps you recognize your own . . . But if you listen to me for brotherly medicine, I shall, by quoting to you the actual words of the holy fathers, remove by their means the imputation against them and against the holy scriptures.
- 3 They say therefore, *I believe also in our Lord Jesus Christ his Son the Onlybegotten*. Notice how, having first laid down as foundations the titles common to the godhead and manhood, *Lord and Jesus and Christ and Onlybegotten and Son*, they then build thereon the tradition of the enmanment and the resurrection and the passion, in order that, with those titles which alike designate either nature placed first, the properties of the sonship and lordship might not be severed, nor those of the natures risk disappearing in confusion in the singularity of the sonship.
- 4 Paul has been their tutor in this; for when he is referring to the divine enmanment and intends to go on to the passion, he first mentions *Christ*, the common title (as I said just now) of the natures,

and then goes on to the word appropriate for each of the natures. What does he say? *Let this thought be in you which is in Christ Jesus, who existing in form of God considered it not a prize to be equal with God. But (not to quote every word) he became obedient unto death, even the death of the cross.*¹ Just because he intended to mention the death, so that none should thence conclude that God the Word is passible, he refers to *Christ*, as being a term denoting the impassible and passible essence in a single person, so that Christ might safely be called both impassible and passible, impassible in godhead, passible in his bodily nature.

5 I could say many things about this: to start with, that the holy fathers do not refer to the Dispensation (*oikonomia*) even as birth, but as enmanment (*enanthropesis*); but I feel the promise of brevity in my opening remarks limits discussion, and urges me to the second heading of your Charity.

6 In this I approved the division of the natures with reference to the manhood and the godhead, and their conjunction into that of a single person, and the saying that God the Word did not need a second birth from a woman, confessing the Godhead incapable of passion. For such things are orthodox, and contrary to the false opinions of all the heresies about the dominical natures. But the other things, whether they introduced some hidden wisdom uncomprehended by the reader's ears, it is for your Accuracy to know; to me at least they seemed to overthrow the first things. For the one who was at first proclaimed impassible and incapable of a second birth was somehow reintroduced as passible and newly created, as if the things by nature belonging to God the Word had been destroyed by the conjunction with the shrine (*naos*); or as if it were thought a small thing among men that the shrine, sinless and inseparable from the divine nature, suffered birth and death for sinners, or as if the dominical voice does not deserve to be believed when it cries to the Jews, *Destroy this shrine, and in three days I will raise it,*² not 'Destroy my Godhead and in three days it will rise.' . . .

7-8 [There are further scriptural examples. Heresy is everywhere in retreat.] . . . Matters both ecclesiastical and lay advance daily in prosperity by Christ's grace, so much that those who see the crowds exclaim in the prophet's words, *'The earth shall be filled with the knowledge of the Lord, so as water covers the seas.'*³ Imperial affairs are in an exceedingly joyful state now that doctrine has been clarified, and (to put it in a nutshell) one might find that text about all the anti-God heresies and the Church's orthodoxy daily fulfilled among us, *The house of Saul went on weakening and the house of David went on growing stronger.*⁴

9 [Final greetings.] (Tr. Stuart Hall.)

¹ Phil. 2.5-8

² John 2.19

³ Isa. 11.9

⁴ 2 Kings 3.1

1. *the holy synod*: Both here and in 3. the Nicene Creed is misquoted. Nestorius' '*I believe*' may indicate that he is quoting a baptismal version of the Creed.

6. *shrine*: Jesus' use of the term *shrine* to mean *the shrine of his body* (John 2.21) leads to its use by theologians to mean his human nature.

8. *orthodoxy daily . . . 'growing stronger'*: Nestorius' confidence in his position is notable; Cyril could only take the last words as a threat to himself.

Unfortunately for Nestorius, he did not send a Latin translation to Coelestine, and his letter to him was a good deal less flattering than Cyril's. Coelestine too regarded his grant of hospitality to Pelagian refugees, such as Julian of Eclanum, as a hostile act.

221 Coelestine Delegates Cyril of Alexandria to represent him in dealing with Nestorius, 11 August, 430

Coelestine, *Ep.* XI.3-5; text in *PL*, L 463ff: *ACO*, L.i.i, pp. 76-7

- 3 . . . If he, Nestorius, persists, an open sentence must be passed on him, for a wound like this, when it affects not one member only, but rends the whole body of the Church, must be cut away at once. For what has he to do with those who are of one mind, he who considers that he alone knows best, and dissents from our belief? Let those therefore remain in our communion whom this man has excluded from communion for opposing him; and tell him that he himself will not be able to retain our communion, if he continues in his way of error, opposing the apostolic teaching.
- 4 And so, appropriating to yourself the authority of our see, and using our position, you shall with resolute severity carry out this sentence, that either he shall within ten days, counted from the day of your notice, condemn in writing this wicked preaching of his, and shall give assurance that he will hold, concerning the birth of Christ our God, the faith which the Roman Church and the Church of your Holiness and universal religion holds; or if he will not do this (your Holiness having at once provided for that Church) he will know that he is in every way removed from our body as not being willing to accept the care lavished on him by those wishing to heal him, and as hastening on a destructive course to his own perdition and to the perdition of all entrusted to him.
- 5 We have written the same to our brothers and fellow-bishops John, Rufus, Juvenal, and Flavian, so our judgement about him, or rather the divine sentence of our Christ, may be known. (Giles, *Documents*, pp. 240-1, altered.)

5. *John*: of Antioch: *Rufus*: of Thessalonica: *Juvenal*: of Jerusalem: *Flavian*: of Philippi. (The letter to these is Coelestine, *Ep.* XII (*PL*, L 466ff). With the above cf. the scornful remarks made long afterwards by Nestorius in his *Book of Heracleides*, 225 below.

222 The Third Letter of Cyril to Nestorius, November 430

Cyril, *Ep.* XVII (*PG*, LXXVII.105–22): *ACO*, I.i.i, pp. 33–42

The marginal references in this passage and in 219 and 226 are according to Aubert's edition (1638), reproduced in Pusey's edition.

To Nestorius, most religious, and most dear to God, our fellow-minister, Cyril and the synod assembled at Alexandria from the province of Egypt send greeting in the Lord.

67 a I When our Saviour says in plain terms, *He that loveth father or mother more than me is not worthy of me, and he that loveth son or daughter more than me is not worthy of me*,¹ what should be our feelings who are asked by your Religiousness to love you more than Christ, our common Saviour? Who shall be able to succour us in the day of judgement, or what apology shall we find for our so long silence under your blasphemies against him? If indeed it were only yourself whom you were injuring in holding and teaching such things, it would be of less consequence, but seeing that you have given offence to the universal Church, and have cast the leaven of a novel and strange heresy among the laity, and not the laity at Constantinople only but everywhere (for copies of your sermons have been circulated), what satisfactory account can any longer be given of our silence, or how are we not
68 a bound to remember Christ's words, *Think not that I am come to send peace on the earth; I did not come to send peace but a sword; for I have come to set a man against his father, and a daughter against her mother*.² For when the faith is being tampered with, perish reverence for parents as a thing unseasonable and pregnant with mischief, and let the law of natural affection to children and brethren be set aside, and let religious
b men count death better than life, that, as it is written, *they may obtain a better resurrection*.³

II Take notice then that in conjunction with the holy synod which was assembled in great Rome, under the presidency of our most pious and religious brother and fellow-minster, Bishop Coelestine, we conjure and counsel you, in this third letter also, to abstain from these mischievous and perverse doctrines, which you both hold and teach,
c and to adopt in place of them the correct faith delivered to the

¹ Matt. 10.37

² Matt. 10.35

³ Heb. 11.35

Churches from the beginning by the holy Apostles and Evangelists, *who were both ministers and eye-witnesses of the Word.*¹ And unless your Religiousness does this by the time prescribed in the Epistle of our aforementioned, most pious and religious brother and fellow-minister, Coelestine, bishop of the Romans, know that you have neither part nor lot with us, nor place nor rank among the priests and bishops of God.

- d For it is impossible that we should bear to see the Churches thus thrown into confusion, and the laity scandalized, and the correct faith set aside, and the flocks scattered abroad by you who ought rather to save them, if you were, as we are, a lover of correct doctrine, treading in the pious footsteps of the holy Fathers. But with all, both laity and clergy, who have been excommunicated or deposed for faith's sake by your Religiousness, we all are in communion. For it is not just that those who hold the true faith should be wronged by your sentence, for
- e having rightly withstood you. For this same thing you signified in your letter to our most holy fellow-bishop Coelestine, bishop of great Rome.

68e-69e [It is not enough for Nestorius to acknowledge the Creed of Nicaea; he must also abjure his erroneous interpretation of that creed, and hold to the universal teaching of both East and West. The Creed of Nicaea is quoted in full.]

- Following in every particular the confessions of the holy Fathers, which they have drawn up under the guidance of the Holy Spirit speaking in them, and keeping close to the meaning which they had in view, and journeying, so to speak, along the king's highway, we affirm that the very only-begotten Word of God, begotten of the very substance of the Father, true God of true God, Light which is from
- 70a Light, by whom all things were made, both in heaven and on earth, for our salvation came down, and of his condescension emptied himself, and became incarnate and was made man, that is, having taken flesh of the Holy Virgin, and made it his own from the womb, he vouchsafed to be born as we, and proceeded forth, a human being from a woman, not having cast away what he was, but even in the assumption of flesh and blood, still continuing what he was—God in nature and truth. Neither do we say that the flesh was converted into the divine nature, nor surely that the ineffable nature of God the Word was debased and perverted
- b into the nature of flesh, for he is unchangeable and unalterable, ever continuing altogether the same according to the Scriptures:² but we say that the Son of God, while visible to the eyes, and a babe and in swaddling clothes, and still at the breast of his Virgin Mother, filled all creation as God, and was seated with his Father. For the divinity is without quantity and without magnitude and without limit.

- iv Confessing then the personal (καθ' ὑπόστασιν) union of the Word

¹ Luke 1.2

² John 8.35; 10.30; Matt. 3.6

- c with the flesh, we worship one Son and Lord, Jesus Christ, neither putting apart and sundering man and God, as though they were connected with one another by a unity of dignity and authority (for this is vain babbling and nothing else), nor surely calling the Word of God Christ in one sense, and in like manner him who is of the woman Christ in another sense; but knowing only one Christ, the Word which is of God the Father with his own flesh. For then (i.e. when he took flesh) he was anointed with us as man, while yet to those who are
d worthy to receive it himself gives the Holy Spirit, and *not by measure*,¹ as says the blessed Evangelist John.

But neither again do we say that the Word which is of God dwelt in him who was born of the Holy Virgin as in an ordinary man, lest Christ should be understood to be a man who carries God within him, for though the Word *dwelt in us*, and, as it is said, *all the fullness of the*
e *Godhead dwelt in Christ bodily*,² yet we understand, that when he became flesh the indwelling was not in the same manner as when he is said to dwell in the saints, but that having been united by a union of natures and not converted into flesh, he brought to pass such an indwelling as the soul of man may be said to have with its own body.

- v There is then one Christ, and Son and Lord, not as though he were a man possessing a conjunction with God simply by a unity of dignity
71a or authority, for equality of honour does not unite natures—Peter and John are equal in honour in that they are apostles and holy disciples, but the two are not one (person).

Nor certainly do we understand the mode of conjunction to be that of juxtaposition, for this does not suffice to express a union of natures.

- b Nor do we understand the union to be in the way of relative participation as we, *being joined to the Lord*, as it is written, *are one spirit with him*,³ but rather we deprecate the term 'conjunction', as insufficient to signify the union.

- Nor do we call the Word which is of God the Father the God or Master of Christ, lest we should again openly divide the one Christ and Son and Lord, into two, and incur the charge of blasphemy, by
c making him the God and Master of himself. For the Word of God being personally united with flesh, as we said, is God of the universe and Master of the whole world. Neither is he his own servant or his own Master; for it is silly, or rather impious to hold or say this. He did indeed speak of God as his own Father, though yet himself God by nature, and of his Father's essence. But we are not ignorant, that while he continued God he also became man subject under God, as befits the law of man's nature. But how could he become the God or Master of himself? Therefore as man, and as befits the measure of his emptying, he speaks of himself as subject under God with us. So also

¹ John 3.34 ² Col. 2.9 ³ 1 Cor. 6.17

he became under the Law, though as God himself spake the Law, and is the Law-giver.

- vi We refuse also to say of Christ, 'For the sake of him who assumes I worship him who is assumed; for the sake of him who is unseen I worship him who is seen.' One must shudder also to say, 'He that is assumed shares the name of God with him who assumed.' For he who speaks again makes two Christs, one God and one man. For he confessedly denies the union, according to which there is understood one Christ Jesus—not one jointly worshipped with another, or jointly sharing the name of God with another, but one Christ Jesus, one only-begotten Son, honoured with one worship with his own flesh.

72a We confess also that the very Son, which was begotten of God the Father, and is the only-begotten God, though being in his own nature impassible, suffered for us in the flesh, according to the scriptures, and was in his Crucified Body impassibly appropriating and making his own the sufferings of his own flesh. And *by the grace of God he tasted death also for every man*,¹ yielding to death his own body, though originally and by nature Life, and himself the Resurrection. For *he tasted death for every man*, as I said, and returned to life again on the third day, bringing with him the spoils of Hell, that having trampled upon death by his ineffable power, he might in his own flesh first become *the first-born from the dead*,² and the *first-fruits of them that sleep*,³ and might prepare the way for the return of man's nature to immortality. So that, though it be said, *By man came the resurrection of the dead*,⁴ yet by *man* we understand the Word which was begotten of God, and that by him has the dominion of death been destroyed. And he will come at the appointed time, as one Son and Lord, in the glory of the Father, to judge *the world in righteousness*,⁵ as it is written.

- vii And we must add this also. For showing forth the death in the flesh of the only-begotten Son of God, that is, of Jesus Christ, and confessing his return to life from the dead, and his assumption into heaven, we celebrate the service of bloodless sacrifice in the Churches, and so approach the mystic Benedictions, and are sanctified, being made partakers of the holy flesh and precious blood of Christ the Saviour of us all, receiving it not as ordinary flesh, God forbid, nor as the flesh of a man sanctified and associated with the Word by a unity of dignity, or as having God dwelling in him, but as Life-giving of a truth and the very own flesh of the Word himself. For being, as God, life by nature, when he became one with his own flesh, he made that flesh life-giving. So that though he says to us, *Verily, verily I say unto you, Except ye eat the flesh of the Son of Man and drink his blood*,⁶ yet we shall not account it as though it were the flesh of an ordinary man (for how

¹ Heb. 2.9² Col. 1.18³ 1 Cor. 15.20⁴ 1 Cor. 15.21⁵ Act 17.31⁶ John 6.53

could the flesh of a man be life-giving of its own nature?) but as having become of a truth the own flesh of him, who for our sakes became and was called Son of Man.

viii Moreover we do not distribute the Words of our Saviour in the Gospels to two several subsistences or Persons. For the one and sole Christ is not twofold, although we conceive of him as consisting of two distinct elements inseparably united, even as a man is conceived of as
b consisting of soul and body, and yet is not two-fold but one out of both. But if we hold the right faith we shall believe both the human language and the divine to have been used by one Person.

73b-d [Cyril quotes John 14.9 and 10.30 to show the divinity of Christ, John 8.40 to show the humanity. The use of 'human' language on the part of one who 'being God by nature, became flesh, i.e. man endowed with a rational soul' need not surprise us.]

To one Person, therefore, must be attributed all the expressions used in the Gospels, the one incarnate *hypostasis* of the Word, for the Lord Jesus Christ is one according to the Scriptures.

ix And if he be called also *Apostle and High-Priest of our confession*,¹ as ministering to God the Father the confession of faith which is offered from us both to him, and through him to God the Father, and assuredly to the Holy Spirit also, again we aver that he is by nature the
74a only-begotten Son of God, and we do not attribute the Priesthood, name and thing, to another man beside him. For he is become a Mediator between God and man, and a reconciler unto peace having offered up himself for a smell of sweet savour to God the Father. For this cause also he said, *Sacrifice and offering thou wouldest not. In whole burnt-offerings and sacrifices for sin thou hadst no pleasure, but a body thou hast prepared for me. Then said I, Lo, I come. In the volume of the book it is written of me, to do thy will, O God.*² For he hath offered his own body for a sweet-smelling savour for us, and not for himself. For what offering or sacrifice did he need for himself, being as God above all sin? For though *all have sinned and do come short of the glory of God*,³ even as we are prone to turn aside, and man's nature is diseased with the disease of sin (it is not so with him), and failed, therefore, of his glory, how could any doubt remain that the true Lamb of God has been slain on our account, and in our behalf? To say that 'he offered himself both for himself and for us' is nothing short of blasphemy. For in nothing was he an offender or a sinner. Of what offering then did he stand in
d need, there being no sin for which offering should be made with any show of reason?

x And when he says of the Spirit, *He shall glorify Me*,⁴ if we understand the words rightly, we shall not say that the one Christ and Son received glory from the Holy Ghost, as being in need of glory from another, for

¹ Heb. 3.1² Heb. 10.5-7³ Rom. 3.23⁴ John 16.14

- the Holy Ghost is not superior to him and above him. But since for the manifestation of his Godhead, he made use of the Holy Ghost for the working of miracles, he says that *he was glorified by him*, just as any one of us might say, of his strength, for instance, or his skill in any matter, 'they shall glorify me'. For though the Holy Spirit has a personal existence (ὑπόστασις) of his own, and is conceived of by himself, in that he is the Spirit and not the Son, yet he is not therefore alien from the Son. For he is called *the Spirit of Truth*,¹ and Christ is *the Truth*, and he is poured forth from him just as he is also from God the Father.
- 75a For this cause the Holy Ghost glorified him when he wrought miracles by the hands of the holy Apostles also, after our Lord Jesus Christ had gone up to heaven. For himself working miracles by his own Spirit, he was believed to be God by nature. For which reason also he said, *He shall take of mine and shall show it unto you*.² On the other hand, we do not say for a moment, that the Holy Spirit is wise and powerful by participation. For he is perfect in every respect, and wanting of no possible good. But since he is the Spirit of the Father's Power and Wisdom, that is, of the Son's, he is in very deed Wisdom and Power himself.
- xI But since the Holy Virgin brought forth after the flesh God personally united to flesh, for this reason we say of her that she is *Theotokos*, not as though the nature of the Word had its beginning of being from the flesh, for he was *in the beginning*, and *the Word was God*,³ and he is the Maker of the worlds, coeternal with the Father, and the Creator of the universe, but, as we said before, because having personally united man's nature to himself, he vouchsafed also to be born in the flesh, from her womb. Not that he needed of necessity, or for his own nature, to be born in time and in the last ages of the world, but that he might bless the very first element of our being, and that, a woman having borne him united to flesh, there might be made to cease thenceforward the curse lying upon our whole
- d race, which sends to death our bodies which are of the earth, and that, the sentence, *In sorrow shalt thou bring forth children*,⁴ being annulled by him, the words of the Prophet might be verified, *Death prevailed and swallowed up, and then again God wiped away every tear from every face*.⁵ For this cause we affirm also that he blessed marriage in accordance with the dispensation by which he became man, and went with his holy Apostles to a marriage-feast when invited at Cana of Galilee.
- xII To these things we have been taught to assent by the holy Apostles
- e and Evangelists, and by all the inspired Scripture, and from the true confession of the blessed Fathers. To all of them it behoves thy Religiousness also to assent and consent without dissimulation of any sort.

¹ John 16.13² John 16.15³ John 1.1⁴ Gen. 3.16⁵ Isa. 25.8

Now the statements which your Religiousness must anathematize are subjoined to this letter of ours.

76a 1 If anyone does not confess Emmanuel to be very God, and does not acknowledge the Holy Virgin consequently to be *Theotokos*, for she brought forth after the flesh the Word of God become flesh, let him be anathema.

2 If anyone does not confess that the Word which is of God the Father has been personally united to flesh, and is one Christ with his own flesh, the same (person) being both God and man alike, let him be anathema.

b 3 If anyone in the one Christ divides the personalities, i.e. the human and the divine, after the union, connecting them only by a connection of dignity or authority or rule, and not rather by a union of natures, let him be anathema.

c 4 If anyone distributes to two Persons or Subsistences (ὑπόστασις) the expressions used both in the Gospels and in the Epistles, or used of Christ by the Saints, or by him of himself, attributing some to a man conceived of separately, apart from the Word which is of God, and attributing others, as befitting God, exclusively to the Word which is of God the Father, let him be anathema.

5 If anyone dares to say that Christ is a man who carries God (within him), and not rather that he is God in truth, as one Son even by nature, even as the Word became flesh, and became *partaker in like manner as ourselves of blood and flesh*,¹ let him be anathema.

d 6 If anyone dares to say that the Word which is of God the Father is the God or Master of Christ, and does not rather confess the same to be both God and man alike, the Word having become flesh according to the Scriptures, let him be anathema.

e 7 If anyone says that Jesus as a man was actuated by God the Word, and that he was invested with the glory of the only-begotten, as being other than he, let him be anathema.

77a 8 If anyone dares to say that the man who was assumed ought to be worshipped jointly with God the Word, and glorified jointly, and ought jointly to share the name of God, as one in another (for the word 'jointly' which is always added obliges one to understand this), and does not rather honour Emmanuel with one worship, and offer to him one ascription of Glory, inasmuch as the Word has become flesh, let him be anathema.

b 9 If anyone says that the one Lord, Jesus Christ, was glorified by the Spirit, as though the power which he exercised was another's received through the Spirit, and not his own, and that he received from the Spirit the power of countervailing unclean spirits, and of working divine miracles upon men, and does not rather say that it was his own

¹ Heb. 2.14

² Heb. 3.1

Spirit by whom he wrought divine miracles, let him be anathema.

10 Divine Scripture says, that Christ became *High Priest and Apostle of our confession*,¹ and that he *offered up himself for us for a sweet-smelling savour to God the Father*.² If then anyone says that it was not the very Word of God himself who became our High-Priest and Apostle, when he became flesh and man as we, but another than he, and distinct from
c him, a man born of a woman; or if anyone says that he offered the sacrifice for himself also, and not rather for us alone, for he who knew no sin had no need of offering, let him be anathema.

11 If anyone does not confess that the Lord's flesh is life-giving, and that it is the own flesh of the Word of God the Father, but affirms that it is the flesh of another than he, connected with him by dignity, or as
d life-giving, because it has become the own flesh of the Word who is able to quicken all things, let him be anathema.

12 If anyone does not confess that the Word of God suffered in the flesh, and was crucified in the flesh, and tasted death in the flesh, and became *the first-born from the dead*,¹ even as he is both Life and
e Life-giving, as God, let him be anathema. (C. A. Heurtley, *On Faith and the Creed*, pp. 162–76, altered. See also L. R. Wickham, *op. cit.*, pp. 12–33.)

67e. *You have given offence to the universal Church*: cf. 219 (22d) above.

68b. *Which was assembled in great Rome*: in August 430. This synod condemned the teaching of Nestorius, but left Cyril in charge of what action was to be taken (221 above).

68c. *the time prescribed*: ten days.

68d. *by your sentence*: Nestorius, as bishop, had been indefatigable in the pursuit of 'heretics'.

70b. *and a baby in swaddling clothes*: cf. Nestorius' statement (Socrates, *HE*, VII.34.5) 'I could not call a baby two or three months old God'.

70e. *the soul of man . . . own body*: 'This analogy is not a perfect one, but it is a sufficient illustration of a natural union in which two unconfused "substances" constitute one person' (Bindley-Green, p. 117.)

71b. *Conjunction*: (=συναφεία) was a term used by Cyril himself before the controversy with Nestorius (*Dialogues*, VI. PG, 75) of the union. In this he was sharing with Theodore, Nestorius and Theodoret who favoured it as denying any merger of deity and humanity. (See Wickham, *loc. cit.* 21, n. 11.)

72a. *One Christ, etc.*: Compare (Pseudo-) Athanasius, *Ad Jovianum* (=Lietzmann, *Apollinaris*, 251–2).

72d. The argument from the Eucharist is essential to Cyril. See H. Chadwick, 'Eucharist and Christology in the Nestorian Controversy' (*JTS NS* (2) 1951), pp. 145–64, especially 153ff, and W. H. C. Frend, *The Rise of the Monophysite Movement*, CUP 1979, pp. 124–5.

73d. *the one incarnate personality of the Word*: ὑποστάσει μιᾷ τῇ τοῦ λόγου σεσαρκωμένη. This phrase sometimes has φύσις instead of ὑπόστασις, and

¹ Eph. 5.2 ² Col. 1.18

σεσαρκωμένου agreeing with λόγου. The phrase is originally Apollinarian, but Cyril regarded it as from Athanasius, as it occurs in a work circulated by Apollinarians under Athanasius' name. Cf. 70 above.

74c–d. *Of what offering did he stand in need*: cf. Bethune-Baker, *Nestorius and his Teaching*, Ch. VII. 'The Highpriesthood of Christ'.

76a. The anathemas: 'Deliberately provocative, these anathemas summarize the Cyrillic Christology in uncompromising terms' (Kelly, *Doctrines*, p. 324).

223 Ephesus, June 431: John of Antioch's Council

Text in *ACO*, II.i.v, p. 122

The holy synod assembled at Ephesus by the grace of God and the command of the most pious and Christ-loving Emperors made the following declaration: We should indeed have wished to hold a synod in peace according to the command of the most pious and Christ-loving Emperors, but since you held a private meeting among yourselves out of an heretical, insolent, and obstinate disposition, though we were already nearby, according to the command of our most pious Emperors; and since you have filled both the city and the holy synod with confusion in order to prevent the examination of appropriate topics, i.e. the false tenets and impieties of the Apollinarians, Arians, and Eunomians, and have not waited for the arrival of the holy bishops of all regions, who were summoned by our most pious Emperors—and you have done this after his Magnificence, Count Candidian, had enjoined on you to dare no such thing but to wait for a common gathering of all the most holy bishops—take notice that you, Cyril of Alexandria, and you, Memnon of this city, are deposed and dismissed from the episcopate and from all ecclesiastical office as the originators of all the (present) disorder and irregularity, and the cause of the disregard of the canons of the Fathers and of the pronouncements of the Emperors. You others who gave your consent to their disorderly transgressions against the canons and the pronouncements of the Emperors, are excommunicated until you acknowledge your fault and reform, accept the faith of the holy Fathers assembled at Nicaea without foreign addition, anathematize the heretical propositions of Cyril, which are clearly repugnant to the teaching of the Evangelists and Apostles, and in all things comply with the order of the most pious and Christ-loving Emperors, who require a peaceful and more accurate consideration of the questions of faith. (Giles, *Documents*, p. 247, altered.)

a private meeting: i.e. the actual council which Cyril had initiated on 22 June without waiting for John of Antioch or the papal legates. This had been an assembly of nearly 200 bishops, mostly from the dioceses of Asia Minor. They

had condemned Nestorius and his views unanimously as not being in accord with the Creed of Nicaea, and upheld those of Cyril. On the evening of 22 June the council had condemned Nestorius as 'the new Judas' and declared him deposed from all ecclesiastical offices. (The story is well told in L. Duchesne, *The Early History of the Church*, Vol III, Ch. x (Tr. Claude Jenkins 1924).

the heretical propositions of Cyril: i.e. his anathemas. John's supporters numbered forty-two.

224 Canons of Ephesus, 431

Text (of canons 1–6) in Hefele-Leclercq, II.i, pp. 337–40; in Bright, *Canons*, pp. XXVII–XXVIII

[Canons 1–6 of Ephesus are entirely taken up with the problem of Nestorius, and the actual events of the council.]

- 1 If any metropolitan of a province, having separated from the holy and ecumenical synod, has joined himself to the assembly of revolt, or shall hereafter so join himself; or has adopted or shall adopt the sentiments of Celestius, he may by no means take any action against the bishops of the province, being now, and from henceforth, entirely cast off from all ecclesiastical communion by the synod, and deprived of all his powers of office: and he shall be altogether subject to the bishops of the province, and to the neighbouring metropolitans, who hold orthodox sentiments, even to complete degradation from his episcopal rank.

assembly of revolt: i.e. the meeting called by John of Antioch, who is named with thirty-three supporters in the preamble to the canons. The council seems apprehensive of further defections to John's party, or adherence to it by bishops who had not attended the council.

Celestius had come to Constantinople with certain of his adherents and had not been without hopes of enlisting Nestorius' sympathy.

- 2 If any provincial bishops failed to attend the holy synod, and have joined the schismatical assembly, or attempted to join it, or if any having subscribed to the deposition of Nestorius, have gone off to the assembly of revolt, such persons, according to the decree of the holy synod, are to be entirely removed from the priesthood, and to be put down from their rank.
- 3 [Any clergy deposed by Nestorius and his adherents to resume their proper rank; clergy who are orthodox must not submit to bishops who 'have separated or may separate' from the council.]
- 4 [Deposition to be enforced of clergy holding with Nestorius or Celestius publicly or privately.]
- 5 [Any attempt by Nestorius and his adherents to restore deposed clergy is to be invalid.]
- 6 [The council threatens all who shall aim at unsettling its decisions with

deposition if they are bishops or clerics, with excommunication if laymen.]

The reference to laymen is clearly directed at the influence of powerful officials like Candidian, who attempted to stop the opening of the council till John of Antioch had arrived.

Canon 7 (of 22 July 431)

'This, as Dioscorus of Alexandria said at Chalcedon, is not properly a canon but a determination (ῥοος)' (Bright, *op. cit.*, p. 131).

- 7 These things having been read, the holy synod has determined that no person shall be allowed to bring forward, or to write, or to compose any other creed besides that which was settled by the holy Fathers who were assembled in the city of Nicaea, with the Holy Spirit. But those who shall dare to compose any other creed, or to exhibit or produce any such to those who wish to turn to the acknowledgement of the truth, whether from heathenism or Judaism or any heresy, whatsoever, if they are bishops or clergy, they shall be deposed, the bishops from their episcopal office, and the clergy from the clergy; but if they are of the laity, they shall be anathematized. In like manner, if any, whether bishops or clergy, shall be discovered either holding or teaching the things contained in the exposition which was exhibited by the presbyter Charisius concerning the incarnation of the only-begotten Son of God, or the impious and profane doctrines of Nestorius, which have been put down, they shall be subjected to the sentence of this holy and ecumenical synod; so that if it be a bishop who does so, he shall be removed from his bishopric, and be deposed; and in like manner if a cleric, he shall forfeit his clerical rank; but if he be a layman, let him be anathematized, as has before been said. (W. A. Hammond, *The Definitions of Faith*, altered.)

any other creed: ἑτέρα πίστις.

from heathenism etc.: cf. The Chalcedonian Definition (246 below).

the presbyter Charisius: of Philadelphia. He appealed to the council against his deposition by persons who accepted a creed which represented Christ in Nestorian fashion: see *DCB*, s.v. Charisius.

Canon 8 (of 31 July 431)

This is a resolution of the council, rather than a canon.

[The resolution dealt with the independence of the Church of Cyprus, which was resisting encroachments by Antioch.]

Wherefore since evils which affect the community require more attention, inasmuch as they cause greater hurt; and especially since the bishop of Antioch has not so much as followed an ancient custom, in

performing ordinations in Cyprus, as those most religious persons who have come to the holy synod have informed us, by writing and by word of mouth, we declare, that they who preside over the holy Churches which are in Cyprus shall preserve without gainsaying or opposition their right of performing by themselves the ordinations of the most religious bishops, according to the canons of the holy Fathers, and the ancient custom.

The same rule shall be observed in all the other dioceses, and in the provinces everywhere, so that none of the most religious bishops shall invade any other province, which has not heretofore from the beginning been under the hand of himself or his predecessors. But if anyone has so invaded a province, and brought it by force under himself, he shall restore it, that the canons of the Fathers may not be transgressed, nor the pride of secular dominion be privily introduced under the appearance of a sacred office, nor we lose by little the freedom which our Lord Jesus Christ, the deliverer of all men, has given us by his own blood.

This holy and ecumenical synod has therefore decreed, that the rights which have heretofore and from the beginning belonged to each province, shall be preserved to it pure and without restraint, according to the custom which has prevailed of old. Each metropolitan has permission to take a copy of the things now transacted for his own security. But if anyone shall introduce any regulation contrary to what has been now defined, the whole holy and ecumenical synod has decreed that it shall be of no effect.

the pride of secular dominion: almost the same expression was used by the African Church (in Latin) to Coelestine of Rome, in the case of Apiarius (195 above, sect. 5).

shall be preserved to it: can. 28 of Chalcedon really set this aside, in assigning a wide jurisdiction to Constantinople; see 248 below.

On the whole question, cf. can. 6 of Nicaea (*NER* 290, p. 340).

225 Nestorius on Cyril's Part at the Council of Ephesus

Nestorius, *The Book of Heracleides* (French Tr., F. Nau, p. 117; E. Tr. from J. F. Bethune-Baker, *Nestorius and his Teaching*, pp. 38–9)

Cyril is therefore prosecutor and accuser, and I the defendant: is this the council that has heard and judged my words? Is it the Emperor who summoned it, if Cyril was among the judges?

Why do I say 'among the judges'? *He* was the whole tribunal, for whatever he said was immediately repeated by the rest, and his single personality took the place of a tribunal for them. If all the judges had

been assembled, and the accusers and accused set in their proper rôle, all would have had equal liberty of speech, instead of Cyril being everything, accuser, Emperor, and judge. He did everything with arbitrary authority, and after ousting from this authority the Emperor's emissary, set himself up in his place. He assembled those who pleased him both from far and near, and made himself the tribunal. I was summoned by Cyril, who assembled the council, by Cyril, who presided. Who was judge? Cyril! Who was accuser? Cyril!! Who was bishop of Rome? Cyril!!! Cyril was everything. Cyril was bishop of Alexandria and held the place of Coelestine, the holy and venerable bishop of Rome. (Compiled from the translations mentioned above.)

The Book of Heracleides is an apology by Nestorius, written in exile.

the Emperor's emissary: Candidian, who had protested at Cyril's opening of the council before the arrival of John of Antioch, or the Roman legates.

bishop of Rome: Coelestine had delegated the management of the case to Cyril, see 221 above.

226 Cyril's Letter to John of Antioch, 23 April 433

Cyril, *Ep.* XXXIX; Bindley-Green, pp.141-4

The marginal references in this passage and in 219 and 222 are according to Aubert's edition (1638), reproduced in Pusey's edition.

104d *Let the heavens rejoice and the earth be glad,¹ for the mid-wall of partition is broken down,² and the cause of sorrow is removed, and all manner of dissension taken away. Christ, our common Saviour, has awarded peace to his own Churches, and to this peace, the most religious Emperors, most dear to God, have also called us, who, nobly emulating the piety of their ancestors, preserve in their own souls the correct faith firm and unshaken, while they take exceeding great care for the holy Churches, that they may win eternal renown, and may make their Empire most illustrious; on whom also the Lord of Hosts himself bestows good things with a liberal hand, and grants them to prevail over their enemies, and gives them victory, for he would not utterly belie his word. As I live, saith the Lord, them that honour me, I will honour.³*

105a On the arrival then at Alexandria of my lord Paul, my brother and fellow-minister, most dear to God, we were filled with joy, and with good reason, seeing that such a man was acting as mediator, and had voluntarily encountered superhuman toils that he might vanquish the envy of the devil, and join together what had been divided, and having

¹ Ps. 96.11

² Eph. 2.14

³ 1 Sam. 2.30

cleared away the stumbling-blocks which had been cast between us,
 a might crown both our Churches and yours with unanimity and peace. I
 need not mention the reasons for our divisions, but I feel that I must
 both think and speak what is in keeping with a time of peace.

We were delighted then at our conference with this most religious
 man, who possibly anticipated that it would cost him no small exertion
 to persuade us that we ought to make peace between the Churches,
 and do away with the ridicule of the heretics, and moreover blunt the
 sting of the devil's malice, but, on the contrary, found us so ready for
 c this, that he had absolutely no trouble at all. For we bear in mind the
 Saviour's words, *My peace I give unto you, my peace I leave unto you,*¹ and
 we have been taught moreover to pray, *O Lord our God, give us peace, for
 thou art the bountiful giver of all things.*² So that if one become a partaker
 of the peace which God liberally supplies, he will lack no good thing.

d But that the variance between the Churches was altogether
 superfluous and unfounded, we are now most entirely convinced, my
 lord, the most religious bishop Paul, having brought a document
 containing an unexceptional confession of faith, which, he tells us, was
 drawn up by your Holiness and the most religious bishops there, i.e. at
 Antioch. The document is as follows, and it is inserted word for word
 e in this letter of ours: 'Concerning the Virgin Mother, *Theotokos*, how
 we both hold and speak, and concerning the mode of the Incarnation
 of the only-begotten Son of God, we will perforce declare in few
 words—not as though we were supplying some deficiency, i.e. to the
 Creed of Nicaea, but as fulfilling its meaning, as we have held from the
 first, having received it both from the divine Scriptures and from the
 tradition of the holy Fathers, making no addition whatever to the faith
 put forth by the holy Fathers at Nicaea. For that Faith, as we have
 already said, suffices both for all knowledge of godliness and for the
 106a denunciation of all heretical heterodoxy. And we will make the
 declaration, not rashly venturing to intrude upon what is beyond our
 reach, but, while acknowledging our own weakness, barring the way
 against those who wish to attack us, in our consideration of matters too
 high for man.

'We confess, therefore, our Lord Jesus Christ, the only-begotten
 Son of God, perfect God and perfect Man, consisting of a rational soul
 and a body begotten of the Father before the ages as touching his
 b Godhead, the same, in the last days, for us and for our salvation, born
 of the Virgin Mary, as touching his Manhood; the same of one
 substance with the Father as touching his Godhead, and of one
 substance with us as touching his Manhood. For of two natures a
 union has been made. For this cause we confess one Christ, one Son,
 one Lord.

¹ John 14.27² Isa. 26.12

c 'In accordance with this sense of the unconfused union, we confess the holy Virgin to be *Theotokos*, because God the Word became incarnate and was made man, and from the very conception united to himself the temple taken from her. And as to the expressions concerning the Lord in the Gospels and Epistles, we are aware that theologians understand some as common, as relating to one Person, and others they distinguish, as relating to two natures, explaining those that befit the divine nature according to the Godhead of Christ, and those of a humble sort according to his Manhood.'

d Having been made acquainted then with these sacred words of yours, and finding that we ourselves are of the same mind, for there is *One Lord, one faith, one baptism*,¹ we gave thanks to God, the Saviour of the world, rejoicing with one another that our Churches, both ours and yours, hold a faith in accordance with the divinely inspired Scriptures and with the tradition of our holy Fathers.

But when I learnt that some of those who take delight in finding fault were buzzing about like fierce wasps, and were spitting forth
e odious speeches against me, as though I said that the holy Body of Christ 'was brought down from heaven, and was not of the holy Virgin', I thought it necessary to say a few words to them about this: O fools, who know only how to slander, how have you been carried away to take up this perverse notion, how have you become infected with the plague of so great folly? For you ought, I say, to be aware that almost the whole of our contention for the faith has grown out of our
107a affirmation that the holy Virgin is *Theotokos*. But if we affirm that the holy Body of Christ, the Saviour of us all, was from heaven, and was not born of her, how can she be conceived of as *Theotokos*? For whom in the world did she bear, if it be not true that she bore Emmanuel, according to the flesh? Let them be treated with scorn then, who prate thus about me.

b [To enforce his point Cyril quotes Matt. 1.23 (Isa. 7.14); Luke 1.30, 31; Matt. 1.21. The meaning of the affirmation that the Lord Jesus
c Christ is from heaven is based on passages like 1 Cor. 15.47; John 3.13; Phil. 2.7. He took the form of a servant remaining still what he
d was, i.e. God,] (for he is unchangeable and unalterable as to his nature)—therefore he is said to have 'come down from heaven', being even now conceived of as one with his own flesh, and he is named also
e *Man from heaven*,² the same perfect in Godhead and perfect in manhood, and conceived of as in one Person: for the Lord Jesus Christ is one, although we do not forget the difference of the natures, from which we affirm the ineffable union to have been formed.

But let your Holiness vouchesafe to stop the mouths of those who say that there was a mixture or confusion or blending of God the Word

¹ Eph. 4.5² 1 Cor. 15-47

with the flesh, for it is likely that some are spreading the report also that I hold or say this. But so far am I from holding anything of the sort that I look upon those as mad who at all imagine that *shadow of turning*¹ can befall the divine nature of the Word, and that he is susceptible of
 108a change; for he remains what he is always, and has undergone no alteration.² Nor could he ever undergo alteration. Moreover we all acknowledge that the Word of God is naturally impassible, even though, in his all-wise administration of the mystery, he is seen to attribute to himself the sufferings which befell his own flesh. Thus also the all-wise Peter says, *Christ then having suffered for us in the flesh*,² and not in the nature of the ineffable Godhead. For in order that he may be believed the Saviour of the World, he appropriates to himself, as I
 b said, in view of his incarnation, the sufferings of his own flesh—as did the Prophet before, who said, speaking in his person, *I gave my back to the scourges and my cheeks to blows, and my face I turned not away from the shame of spitting*.⁴

But that we follow everywhere the sentiments of the holy Fathers, and especially those of our blessed and all-renowned Father Athanasius, refusing to vary from them in the least possible degree, let
 c your Holiness be assured, and let no one else entertain a doubt. I would have set down many passages of theirs, confirming my own words from them, if I had not been afraid of making my letter too long and therefore tedious. And we in no wise suffer any to unsettle the faith (I mean the Symbol of the faith) defined by our holy Fathers
 d assembled sometime at Nicaea. Nor assuredly do we suffer ourselves or others either to alter a phrase of what is contained therein, or to go beyond a single syllable, remembering who said, *Remove not the eternal land-marks which thy Fathers set*.⁵ For it was not they who spake, but the very Spirit of God the Father, who proceeds indeed from him but is not alien from the Son in respect of essence. And in this the words of the holy teachers confirm us.

e [This is illustrated by the quotation of Acts 16.7 and Rom. 8.8,9.]

But whenever any of those who are wont to pervert right doctrine wrest my words to what they please, let not your Holiness marvel, as you know that heretics also of every sort collect arguments in support
 109a of their error from the divinely inspired Scripture, corrupting by their own evil-mindness what has been rightly spoken by the Holy Ghost, and drawing down upon their own heads the unquenchable flame.

But since we have learnt that some have published a garbled edition of our all-renowned Father Athanasius' orthodox Epistle to the
 b blessed Epictetus, so that many are being injured by it, therefore with a view to what may be useful and necessary to the brethren, we send

¹ James 1.17² Cf. Mal. 3.6³ 1 Pet. 4.1⁴ Isa. 50.6⁵ Prov. 22.28

your Holiness a transcript taken from ancient and correct copies which we have here.

The Lord preserve you in good health, and interceding for us, most honoured brother. (C.A. Heurtley, *On Faith and the Creed*, pp. 177–84, altered.)

This letter of Cyril to John of Antioch embodied concessions to the Antiochene point of view. *The Formula of Reunion* is in fact an Antiochene document, which had been approved by the Eastern bishops at Ephesus in August 431. Cyril's anathemas are dropped, as in his phrase 'personal union' (ἐνωσις καθ' ὑπόστασιν). There is strong emphasis on the 'two natures'. But the Antiochenes conceded the use of *Theotokos*, and finally dropped Nestorius.

105a. *Paul*: bishop of Emesa, who had been sent, after an Antiochene council, to confer with Cyril.

106e. *that the holy body of Christ 'was brought down from Heaven'*: this doctrine was attributed to Apollinarius by his opponents, but it is not his; see, for example, Kelly, *Doctrines*, p. 294.

107d. *in one person*: ὡς ἐν ἐνὶ προσώπῳ νοούμενος, cf Leo's *Tome*, 4 (p. 000 below), 'in the Lord Jesus Christ God and man are one Person'.

107e. *mixture or confusion, etc.*: these terms were, to be sure, Apollinarian and Eutychian, but they had been used by many others, without apparently compromising their orthodoxy, see, for example, Bindley-Green, p. 147, or (for Gregory of Nazianzus and Gregory of Nyssa) Kelly, *Doctrines*, pp. 297–9.

108d. *it was not they who spake, but the very Spirit*: on the inspiration of councils by the Spirit cf. *Letter of the Council of Arles to Silvester* (NER 264), 'we agreed, in the presence of the Holy Spirit and his Angels'; *Letter of Constantine to the Alexandrian Church* after Nicaea (Socrates HE, I.9.24 (NER 293)): 'seeing that the Holy Spirit dwelling in the minds of persons of such character and dignity has effectually enlightened them respecting the Divine Will'; cf. Ephesus, can. 7 (see 224).

109b. *Athanasius' . . . Epistle to . . . Epictetus*: Epictetus was bishop of Corinth and had asked Athanasius for assistance over certain doctrines affecting members of his Church. The date of the letter is frequently given as c. 371, but as Raven, *Apollinarianism*, pp. 102ff, shows, it is unlikely that any doctrine put forward by Apollinarius is attacked in the letter, and that a date as early as 360–61 is possible.

227 Cyril's Defence of his Acceptance of the Formula of Reunion

First Letter to Succensus (Text and Tr. from L. R. Wickham, *Cyril of Alexandria: Select Letters* (Oxford Early Christian Texts 1983), pp. 74–7)

- 6 So we unite the Word from God the Father without merger, alteration or change to holy flesh owning mental life in a manner inexpressible and surpassing understanding, and confess one Son, Christ and Lord,

the self-same God and man, not a diverse pair but one and the same, being and being seen to be both things. That is why as man in fulfilment of the divine plan he sometimes discourses humanly whilst at other times he utters words as God with the authority of Godhead. Our affirmation is this: if we carefully examine the mode of the scheme of incarnation, if we make a close survey of the mystery, we see that the Word from God the Father became man and was incarnate and that he did not mould that sacred body from his own nature but took it from the Virgin, because how could he have become man unless he wears a human body? So if we consider, as I said, the mode of his becoming man we see that two natures have met without merger and without alteration in unbreakable mutual union—the point being that flesh is flesh and not Godhead even though it has become God's flesh and equally the Word is God and not flesh even though in fulfilment of God's plan he made the flesh his own. Whenever we take this point into consideration, therefore, we do not damage the concurrence into unity by declaring it was effected out of two natures; however, after the union we do not divide the natures from each other and do not sever the one and indivisible into two sons but say 'one Son' and, as the fathers have put it, 'one incarnate nature of the Word'.

- 7 So far, then, as the question of the manner of the Only-begotten's becoming man appears for purely mental consideration by the mind's eye, our view is that there are two united natures but one Christ Son and Lord, the Word of God become man and incarnate. May we illustrate the case from the composition which renders us human beings? We are composed out of soul and body and observe two different natures, the body's and the soul's; yet the pair yields a single united human being, and composition out of two natures does not turn the one man into two men but, as I said, produces a single man, a composite of soul and body. If we repudiate the fact that the one and unique Christ is from two different natures, existing, as he does, indivisible after the union, opponents of orthodoxy will ask how he could have been made man or appropriated any flesh if the entirety is a single nature.

Succensus was Bishop of Seleucia in Isauria.

Cyril has not changed his basic position set out in his Second and Third letters to Nestorius (219 and 222 above), but he has to explain how he could reconcile these with the acceptance of the Two Nature formula proposed by John of Antioch (see 226 above).

6. *without merger, alteration . . .*: The first two adverbs, L. R. Wickham points out, are repeated in the Chalcedonian Definition (see 246 below (4)), perhaps with an eye on this passage — 'recognized in two natures without confusion, alteration, separation or division.'

'*Out of two natures, one*, was the formula accepted by Cyril's successor Dioscorus, but ultimately rejected at Chalcedon in favour of 'recognized *in two natures*' (see 246 below (4)).

'one incarnate nature of the Word': Allegedly from Athanasius, but that the phrase came in reality from Apollinarius of Laodicea (70, above p. 88) seems certain. (See H. Lietzmann, *Apollinaris und seine Schule*, Tübingen 1904, reprinted Hildesheim/New York 1970, pp. 119ff and 146).

7. *our view is . . .*: Cyril's answer to Succensus' question, whether it was indeed possible to speak of 'two natures'. At the level of abstract thought, Cyril answers 'Yes'. (See L. R. Wickham, loc. cit.)

228 The Character of Cyril of Alexandria

1 Cyril Alive

Isidore of Pelusium, *Ep.* I.310

Isidore of Pelusium wrote this letter to Cyril at the time of the council of Ephesus (431).

Sympathy does not see distinctly; but antipathy does not see at all. If then you would be clear of both sorts of blearness of vision, do not indulge in violent negations, but submit any charges made against you to a just judgement. God himself, who knows all things before they come to pass, vouchsafed to come down and see the cry of Sodom; thereby teaching us the lesson to look closely into things and weigh them well. Many of those who were assembled at Ephesus speak satirically of you as a man bent on pursuing his private animosities, not as one who seeks in correct belief the things of Jesus Christ. 'He is sister's son to Theophilus,' they say, 'and in disposition takes after him. Just as the uncle openly expended his fury against the inspired and beloved John, so also the nephew seeks to set himself up in his turn, although there is considerable difference between the things at stake.' (Kidd, *Documents*, II, p. 282.)

the things at stake: or the persons under judgement.

'While some credit is due to one so ardent and strong-willed as Cyril was by nature for allowing the eminent recluse to treat him with such freedom, it may be thought that Isidore shows too evident a pleasure in playing the monitor to his patriarch' (W. Bright in *DCB*, s.v. Isidore).

2 Cyril Dead

Theodoret, *Ep.* CLXXX

This letter is addressed to Domnus of Antioch. There is much controversy as to whether it is a genuine letter of Theodoret, cf., for example, *DCB*, art. *Theodoret*, p. 912, but even if it is not genuine, it shows the kind of feeling that Cyril engendered.

At last and with difficulty the villain has gone. The good and the gentle

pass away all too soon; the bad prolong their life for years.

The Giver of all good, I think, removes the former before their time from the troubles of humanity; he frees them like victors from their contests and transports them to the better life, that life which, free from death, sorrow, and care, is the prize of them that contend for virtue. They, on the other hand, who love and practise wickedness are allowed a little longer to enjoy this present life, either that sated with evil they may afterwards learn virtue, or else even in this life may pay the penalty for the wickedness of their own ways by being tossed to and fro through many years of this life's sad and wicked waves.

This wretch, however, has not been dismissed by the Ruler of our souls like other men, that he may possess for longer time the things which seem to be full of joy. Knowing that the fellow's malice has been daily growing and doing harm to the body of the Church, the Lord has lopped him off like a plague and *taken away the reproach from the children of Israel*.¹ His survivors are indeed delighted at his departure. The dead, maybe, are sorry. There is some ground of alarm lest they should be so much annoyed at his company as to send him back to us, or that he should run away from his conductors like the tyrant of Cyniscus in Lucian.

Great care must then be taken, and it is especially your Holiness's business to undertake this duty, to tell the guild of undertakers to lay a very big heavy stone upon his grave, for fear he should come back again, and show his changeable mind once more. Let him take his new doctrines to the shades below, and preach to them all day and all night. We are not at all afraid of his dividing them by making public addresses against true religion and by investing an immortal nature with death. He will be stoned not only by ghosts learned in divine law, but also by Nimrod, Pharaoh, and Sennacherib, or any other of God's enemies.

But I am wasting words. The poor fellow is silent whether he will or no, *his breath goeth forth, he returneth to his earth, in that very day his thoughts perish*.² He is doomed too to silence of another kind. His deeds, detected, tie his tongue, gag his mouth, curb his passion, strike him dumb, and make him bow down to the ground.

I really am sorry for the poor fellow. For the news of his death has not caused me unmixed delight, but it is tempered by sadness. On seeing the Church freed from a plague of this kind I am glad and rejoice; but I am sorry and do mourn when I think that the wretch knew no rest from his crimes, but went on attempting greater and more grievous ones till he died. His idea was, so it is said, to throw the imperial city into confusion by attacking true doctrines a second time, and to charge your Holiness with supporting them. But God saw and

¹ 1 Sam. 17.26 ² Ps. 146.4

did not overlook it. *He put his hook into his nose and his bridle into his lips,*¹ and turned him to the earth whence he was taken. Be it then granted to your Holiness's prayers that he may obtain mercy and pity that God's boundless clemency may surpass his wickedness.

I beg your Holiness to drive away the agitations of my soul. Many different reports are being bruited abroad to my alarm announcing general misfortunes. It is even said by some that your Reverence is setting out against your will for the court, but so far I have despised these reports as untrue. But finding everyone repeating one and the same story I have thought it right to try and learn the truth from your Holiness that I may laugh at these tales if false, or sorrow not without reason if they are true. (NPNF, slightly altered.)

'The authorship of the letter is not beyond all doubt, but it seems most probable that it was penned by the gentle and warm-hearted Theodoret. It affords striking testimony to Cyril's greatness. Small men do not earn such heartfelt obituaries, even from deeply indignant saints' (G. L. Prestige, *Fathers and Heretics*, pp. 311-12).

¹ Isa. 37.29

24 *The West: Authority Catholic and Papal, 430–45*

229 Vincent of Lérins: The Rule of Doctrine and Development, 434

Vincent of Lérins, *Commonitorium*, II.4–III.8, XXIII, 54, 57–8

- 4 I have often inquired most earnestly and attentively from very many experts in sanctity and learning, how, and by what definite and, as it were, universal rule I might distinguish the truth of the Catholic Faith from the falsity of heretical perversion; and I have always received an answer of this kind from almost all of them, namely, that whether I, or any one else, wished to detect the frauds of newly rising heretics and to avoid their snares, and to remain sound and whole in the sound faith, one ought, with the Lord's help, to fortify one's faith in a twofold manner: first, by the authority of the Divine Law, and secondly, by the tradition of the Catholic Church.
- 5 Here perhaps some one will ask, Since the canon of Scripture is complete and is in itself sufficient, and more than sufficient on all points, what need is there to join to it the authority of ecclesiastical interpretation? The answer of course is that, owing to the very depth of holy Scripture itself, all do not receive it in one and the same sense; but one in one way and another in another interprets the declarations of the same writer, so that it seems possible to elicit from it as many opinions as there are men. For Novatian expounds it one way, Photinus another, Sabellius another, Donatus another, Arius, Eunomius, and Macedonius another, Apollinarius and Priscillian another, Jovinian, Pelagius, and Celestius another, and quite lately Nestorius another. Whence it is most necessary, on account of the great intricacies of such various errors, that the rule for the interpretation of the Prophets and Apostles should be laid down in accordance with the standard of the ecclesiastical and Catholic understanding of them.
- 6 Also in the Catholic Church itself we take great care that we hold that which has been believed everywhere, always, by all. For that is truly and properly 'Catholic', as the very force and meaning of the word show, which comprehends everything almost universally. And we shall observe this rule if we follow universality, antiquity, consent. We shall follow universality if we confess that one Faith to be true which the whole Church throughout the world confesses; antiquity if we in no wise depart from those interpretations which it is plain that our holy

ancestors and fathers proclaimed; consent if in antiquity itself we eagerly follow the definitions and beliefs of all, or certainly nearly all, priests and doctors alike.

7 What, then, will the Catholic Christian do if any part of the Church has cut itself off from the communion of the universal Faith? What surely but prefer the soundness of the whole body to a pestilent and corrupt member?

8 What if some novel contagion seek to infect the whole Church, and not merely a small portion of it? Then he will take care to cling to antiquity, which cannot now be led astray by any novel deceit.

What if in antiquity itself error be detected on the part of two or three men, or perhaps of a city, or even of a province? Then he will look to it that he prefer the decrees of an ancient general council, if such there be, to the rashness and ignorance of a few.

But what if some error spring up concerning which nothing of this kind is to be found? Then he must take pains to find out and compare the opinions of the ancients, provided, of course, that such remained in the communion and faith of the One Catholic Church, although they lived in different times and places, conspicuous and approved teachers; and whatever he shall find to have been held, written, and taught, not by one or two only, but by all equally and with one consent, openly, frequently and persistently, that he must understand is to be believed by himself also without the slightest hesitation . . .

54 But some one will say perhaps, Is there, then, to be no religious progress in Christ's Church? Progress certainly, and that the greatest. For who is he so jealous of men and so odious to God who would attempt to forbid it? But progress, mind you, of such sort that it is a true advance, and not a change, in the Faith. For progress implies a growth within the thing itself, while change turns one thing into another. Consequently the understanding, knowledge, and wisdom of each and all—of each churchman and of the whole Church—ought to grow and progress greatly and eagerly through the course of ages and centuries, provided that the advance be within its own lines, in the same sphere of doctrine, the same feeling, the same sentiment.

57 Therefore, whatever has been sown in the Church, which is God's husbandry,¹ by the fidelity of the Fathers, the same ought to be cultivated and tended by the industry of their children, the same ought to flourish and ripen, to advance and be perfected. For it is right that the ancient doctrines of heavenly philosophy should, as time goes on, be carefully tended, smoothed, polished: it is not right for them to be changed, maimed, mutilated. They may gain in evidence, light, distinctness, but they must not lose their completeness, integrity, characteristic property.

¹ Cf. I Cor. 3.9

- 58 If once a licence of impious fraud be permitted, I shudder to say how great will be the risk of religion being destroyed and wiped out. For if any part of the Catholic doctrine be laid aside, then another part, and also another, and likewise another, and yet another, will go as a matter of course and right. But when the parts one by one have been rejected, what else will follow in the end but that the whole be equally rejected? (T. H. Bindley, *The Commonitory of St Vincent of Lérins*, pp. 22–8, 89–90, 92–3, slightly altered.)

6. *everywhere, always, by all: quod ubique, quod semper, quod ab omnibus creditum est*. Hence, for example, Donatism stands condemned by its local nature, Arianism by its novelty.

230 The Novatianists Harassed in Rome, c. 430

Socrates, *HE*, VII.11.2–6

- 2 And this Coelestinus took away the churches from the Novatianists at
 3 Rome also, and obliged Rusticula their bishop to hold his meetings
 4 secretly in private houses. Until this time the Novatianists had
 flourished exceedingly in Rome, possessing many churches there,
 5 which were attended by large congregations. But envy attacked them
 also, as soon as the Roman episcopate, like that of Alexandria,
 extended itself beyond the limits of ecclesiastical jurisdiction, and
 6 degenerated into its present state of secular domination. For
 thenceforth the bishop would not suffer even those who agreed with
 them in matters of faith to enjoy the privilege of assembling in peace,
 but stripped them of all they possessed, praising them merely for these
 6 agreements in faith. The bishops of Constantinople kept themselves
 free from this sort of conduct; inasmuch as in addition to tolerating
 them and permitting them to hold their assemblies within the city, as I
 have already stated, they treated them with every mark of Christian
 regard. (NPNF.)

Socrates has much good to say of the Novatianists, cf. NPNF, *Socrates and Sozomen*, Introduction, p. x.

3. *possessing many churches*: for example, above the catacomb near the Via Tiburtina where Novatian was originally buried.

6. *kept themselves free*: except for Nestorius, cf. 215 above.

Coelestine died in 432, but there is nothing to show that the lot of the Novatianists improved under his successor Xystus III (432–40). Socrates completed his *History* in 439 (236).

231 The Manichees at Rome, 443

Leo, *Serm.* XVI.4–5

Owing to the capture of Carthage and most of Africa by the Vandals in 439, there had been an influx of refugees to Rome, and, as Leo points out (*Serm.* XVI.5), these included Manichees, who were numerous in Africa. Leo took vigorous steps to suppress the sect. For the Roman view of Manichaean morals see 55 above, with references there.

- 4 But while he, i.e. the devil, retains this ever-varying supremacy over all the heresies, yet he has built his citadel upon the madness of the Manichees, and found in them the most spacious court in which to strut and boast himself; for there he possesses not one form of misbelief only, but a general compound of all errors and ungodliness. For all that is idolatrous in the heathen, all that is blind in carnal Jews, all that is unlawful in the secrets of the magic art, all, finally, that is profane and blasphemous in all the heresies, is gathered together with all manner of filth, as if in a cesspool. And hence it is too long a matter to describe all their ungodliness; for the number of the charges against them exceeds my supply of words. It will be sufficient to indicate a few instances, that you may, from what you hear, conjecture what from modesty we omit. In the matter of their rites, however, which are as indecent morally as they are religiously, we cannot keep silence about that which the Lord has been pleased to reveal to our inquiries, lest anyone should think we have trusted in this thing to vague rumours and uncertain opinions. And so with bishops and presbyters sitting beside me, and Christian nobles assembled in the same place, we ordered their elect men and women to be brought before us. And when they had made many disclosures concerning their perverse tenets and their mode of conducting festivals, they revealed this story of utter depravity also, which I blush to describe, but which has been so carefully investigated, that no grounds for doubt are left for the incredulous or for cavillers. For there were present all the persons by whom the unutterable crime had been perpetrated, to wit, a girl at most ten years old, and two women who had nursed her and prepared her for this outrage. There were also present the stripling who had outraged her, and the bishop who had arranged their horrible crime. All these made one and the same confession, and a tale of such foul orgies was disclosed as our ears could scarcely bear. And lest by plainer speaking we offend chaste ears, the account of the proceedings shall suffice, in which it is most fully shown that in that sect, no modesty, no sense of honour, no chastity whatever is found; for their law is falsehood, their religion the devil, their sacrifice immorality.
- 5 This too, dearly beloved, I entreat and admonish you, loyally to inform us if any of you know where they dwell, where they teach, whose houses they frequent, and in whose company they rest because

it is of little avail to anyone that through the Holy Ghost's protection he is not caught by them himself, if he takes no action when he knows others are being caught. (NPNF, slightly altered.)

ever-varying: because the heresies were so many and varied.

all . . . that is profane and blasphemous in all the heresies: cf. what Eusebius said, *HE*, VII.31.1–2 (*NER* 232), long before.

bishops and presbyters . . . and Christian nobles: i.e. Leo's inquiry included both clergy and laity.

their elect: i.e. the true Manichees, the élite of the sect.

On such happenings as the above in Manichaean ritual cf. Augustine, *De Haer.* 46 (quoted in Bonner, *St Augustine of Hippo*, pp. 180–1).

232 The Authority of the Roman Church

Leo, *Serm.* II.2; III.3

The following passages come from sermons preached by Leo each year, on the anniversary of his consecration in 440.

II.2 . . . Nor yet, I feel sure, is the fostering condescension and true love of the most blessed Apostle Peter absent from this congregation: he in whose honour you are met together has not deserted your devotion. And so he too rejoices over your good feeling and welcomes your respect for the Lord's own institution as shown towards the partners of his honour, commending the well-ordered love of the whole Church, which ever finds Peter in Peter's see, and from affection for so great a shepherd grows not lukewarm even over so inferior a successor as myself . . .

III.3 The dispensation of the Truth therefore abides, and the blessed Peter, persevering in the strength of the Rock, which he has received, has not abandoned the helm of the Church which he undertook to control. For he was ordained before the rest in such a way that from his being called the Rock, from his being pronounced the Foundation, from his being constituted the door-keeper of the kingdom of heaven, from his authority as the Umpire to bind and to loose, whose judgements shall retain their validity in heaven—from all these mystical titles we might know the nature of his association with Christ. And still to-day he more fully and effectually performs what is entrusted to him, and carries out every part of his duty and charge in him and with him, through whom he has been glorified. And so if anything is rightly done and rightly decreed by us, if anything is won from the mercy of God by our daily supplications, it is of his work and merit whose power lives and whose authority prevails in his See. (NPNF, slightly altered.)

233 The Roman Church the Head of the World

Leo, *Serm.* LXXXII.1–3

This sermon was preached on the Festival of SS. Peter and Paul (29 June).

- 1 The whole world, dearly beloved, does indeed take part in all holy anniversaries, and loyalty to the one Faith demands that, whatever is recorded as done for all men's salvation, should be everywhere celebrated with common rejoicings. But, besides that reverence which to-day's festival has gained from all the world, it is to be honoured with special and peculiar exultation in our city, that there may be a predominance of gladness on the day of their martyrdom in the place where the chief Apostles met their glorious end. For these are the men through whom the light of Christ's Gospel shone on thee, O Rome, and through whom thou, who wast the teacher of error, wast made the disciple of Truth. These are thy holy Fathers and true shepherds, who gave thee claims to be set in the heavenly kingdom, and built thee under much better and happier auspices than they by whose zeal the first foundations of thy walls were laid; and of whom the one that gave thee thy name defiled thee with his brother's blood. These are they who promoted thee to such glory, that being made a holy nation, a chosen people, a priestly and royal State, and the head of the world through the blessed Peter's holy see, thou didst attain a wider sway by the worship of God than by earthly government. For although thou wert increased by many victories, and didst extend thy rule on land and sea, yet what thy toils in war subdued is less than what the peace of Christ has conquered.
- 2 [The extension of the Roman Empire was part of the divine scheme. By its existence, though the Empire was itself enthralled to pagan error, the preaching of the Word was prospered, and now it has been wondrously emancipated.]
- 3 For when the twelve Apostles, after receiving through the Holy Ghost the power of speaking with all tongues, had distributed the world into parts among themselves and undertaken to instruct it in the Gospel, the most blessed Peter, chief of the Apostolic order, was appointed to the citadel of the Roman Empire, that the light of truth which was being displayed for the salvation of all the nations, might spread itself more effectively throughout the body of the world from the head itself. What nation had not representatives then living in this city; or what peoples did not know what Rome had learnt? (NPNF, slightly altered.)

1. *defiled thee with his brother's blood*: Romulus murdered his brother Remus.

2. *the preaching of the Word was prospered*: as, for example, Origen and Eusebius of Caesarea had pointed out long before.

3. *what nation had not then representatives*: this idea corresponds to that used long before by Irenaeus in his argument from tradition (*NER* 96, pp. 114ff).
had distributed the world into parts: cf. Rufinus, *On the Apostles' Creed*, 2.

234 Valentinian III on the Roman Primacy and on Hilary of Arles, 445

From *Constitutio Valentiniani III*= Leo, *Ep.* XI

It is certain that for us and our Empire the only defence is in the favour of the God of heaven; and to deserve it our first care is to support the Christian faith and its venerable religion. Inasmuch then as the primacy of the Apostolic See is assured by the merit of St Peter, prince of the episcopal order, by the rank of the city of Rome, and also by the authority of a sacred synod, lest presumption endeavour to attempt any unauthorized act contrary to the authority of that See, then at length will the peace of the Churches be everywhere maintained, if the whole body acknowledges its ruler.

Hitherto these customs have been inviolably observed; but Hilary of Arles, as we are informed by the trustworthy report of that venerable man Leo, pope of Rome, has with contumacious daring ventured upon certain unlawful proceedings; and therefore the Churches beyond the Alps have been invaded by abominable disorders, of which a recent example particularly bears witness. For Hilary who is called bishop of Arles, without consulting the pontiff of the Church of the city of Rome, has in solitary rashness taken it on himself to pronounce judgements on bishops and to ordain bishops. He has removed some without authority, and indecently ordained others who are unwelcome and repugnant to the citizens. Since these were not readily received by those who had not chosen them, he has collected to himself an armed band and in hostility has either prepared a barrier of walls for a blockade or embarked on aggression. Thus he has led into war those who prayed for peace to the haven of rest. Such men have been admitted contrary to the dignity of the Empire and contrary to the reverence due to the Apostolic See; and after investigation they have been dispersed by the order of that pious man the Pope of the City. The sentence applies to Hilary and to those whom he has wickedly ordained. This same sentence would have been valid through the Gauls without imperial sanction; for what is not allowed in the Church to the authority of so great a pontiff? Hilary is allowed still to be called a bishop, only by the kindness of the gentle president; and our just command is, that it is not lawful either for him or for anyone else to mix Church affairs with arms or to obstruct the orders of the Roman bishop.

. . . By such deeds of daring, confidence in, and respect for, our Empire is broken down. Not only then do we put away so great a crime; but in order that not even the least disturbance may arise amongst the Churches, or the discipline of religion appear in any instance to be weakened, we decree by this perpetual edict that it shall not be lawful for the bishops of Gaul or of the other provinces, contrary to ancient custom, to do aught without the authority of the venerable Pope of the Eternal City; and whatsoever the authority of the Apostolic See has enacted, or may hereafter enact, shall be the law for all. So that, if any bishop summoned to trial before the Pope of Rome shall neglect to attend, he shall be compelled to appearance by the governor of the province, in all respects regard being had to what privileges our deified parents conferred on the Roman Church. Wherefore your illustrious and eminent Magnificence is to cause what is enacted above to be observed in virtue of this present edict and law, and a fine of ten pounds is at once to be levied on any judge who suffers our commands to be disobeyed. (Kidd, *Documents*, II, pp. 282–3, and E. Giles, *Documents*, pp. 286–7, altered.)

25 *The East: an Interval of Harmony,* 433–47

235 The Ideal of Monarchy: Praise for Theodosius II

Sozomen, *HE*, Preface 2 and 12

- 2 It is considered the greatest and a regal thing for the ruler of the whole people to possess, at least, one of the homely virtues; but no such great estimate has been made of piety, which is, after all, the true ornament of the empire. Thou, however, O most powerful Emperor Theodosius, hast in a word, by God's help, cultivated every virtue. Girt with the purple robe and crown, a symbol of thy dignity to onlookers, thou wearest within always that true ornament of sovereignty, piety and philanthropy.
- 12 It is appropriate to call thee, according to Homer, more regal than the kings who preceded thee; for we have heard of some who acquired nothing worthy of admiration, and others who adorned their reign with scarcely one or two deeds. But thou, O most powerful Emperor, hast gathered together all the virtues, and hast excelled every one in piety, philanthropy, courage, prudence, justice, munificence, and a magnanimity befitting royal dignity. And every age will boast of thy rule as alone unstained and pure from murder, beyond all governments that ever existed. Thou teachest thy subjects to pursue serious things with pleasure, so that they show zeal for thee and public affairs, with good will and respect. So that for all these reasons, it has appeared to me, as a writer of Ecclesiastical History, necessary to address myself to thee. (NPNF.)

Sozomen dedicates his nine books of Ecclesiastical History to Theodosius II, c. 439.

Of interest is Sozomen's emphasis on Theodosius' piety, justice and magnanimity rather than martial qualities which were attributed to Emperors in the past.

Socrates also attributes similar virtues to Theodosius (*HE*, VII.22).

236 When No News is Good News

Socrates, *HE*, VII.48.35–6

Socrates concluded his history with the year 439, when the troubles over Nestorius appeared to be ended.

35 In such a flourishing condition were the affairs of the Church at this
time. But we shall here close our history, praying that the Churches
36 everywhere, with the cities and nations, may live in peace; for as long
as peace continues, those who desire to write histories will find no
materials for their purpose. And we ourselves, O holy man of God,
Theodore, should have been unable to prolong to seven books the task
we undertook at your request, had the lovers of seditions chosen to be
quiet. (NPNF, slightly altered.)

Theodore, at whose request Socrates wrote, is otherwise unknown to us.

26 Chalcedon: The Crisis, 447–51

237 Theodoret of Cyrrhus on the Person of Christ

Theodoret reflects the Antiochene teaching on the Two Natures of Christ. His main dogmatic work, written *c.* 447, is in the form of a dialogue between 'Eranistes' (a beggar), an Alexandrian (with Apollinarian tendencies) and 'Orthodoxus', an orthodox believer of the Antiochene school.

1 The Two Natures

Theodoret, *Eran.* 2

Eran: Therefore Jesus Christ is God only.

Orth: You are told that God the Word was made man. Are you going to call him *God Only*?

Eran: He was made man, without alteration. He remained what he was; and therefore he is to be called what he was.

Orth: Certainly God the Word was, and is, and will be unchangeable; but he became man by taking human nature. It is right, then, that we should acknowledge both natures, that which assumed, and that which was assumed.

2 The One Person

Eran. 3

Orth: You said that the divine nature came down from heaven, but that it was called Son of Man because of the union. Thus it is right to say that the flesh was nailed to the tree, but to confess that the divine nature was inseparable from it, on the cross, in the tomb, though that nature did not undergo suffering, being by nature incapable of suffering and death, and having a substance [*ousia*] immortal and impassible. Thus Paul spoke of the '*crucified Lord of glory*,'¹ applying the epithet of the impassible nature to the passible, since the body ranked as the body of the divinity . . . I have often said that the one person (*prosôpon*) receives both the divine and the human epithets. That is why the blessed Fathers at Nicaea, after instructing us how we should believe in the Father, when they passed on to the person of the Son, did not immediately say 'and in the Son of God' . . . They wished to hand on to us a statement both of the divinity and at the same time

¹ 1 Cor. 2.8

of the economy, to prevent the notion of two different persons, that of the divinity and that of the humanity. Therefore they continued . . . 'and in our Lord Jesus Christ'. Now Christ is the title of God the Word, after his incarnation: so that this title includes all that belongs to his Godhead, and all that belongs to his manhood . . .

[Isaac and the ram symbolize the two natures of Christ.] But I have often said that it is impossible for the picture and the original to coincide in all respects: and here is an example to make the point clear. Isaac and the ram correspond to the original [i.e. Christ] in respect of the difference of natures, but not in respect of a division between separate *hypostases*. For we preach such a union of the Godhead and the manhood that we conceive of one indivisible person, and recognize him to be at the same time God and man, visible and invisible, circumscribed and uncircumscribed. And all other qualities which signify divinity and humanity we ascribe to the one person. (Tr. Bettenson, *LCF*, pp. 269–70).

the economy: the working out of the divine plan in the Incarnation, involving the self-limitation of the Godhead.

3 The Eucharistic Sacrifice

In Ps. 109[110].4

Christ is a priest . . . who does not himself offer anything, but he acts as the head of those who offer. For he calls the Church his body, and through it he performs the office of priest as man, while as God he receives the offerings. The Church offers the symbols of his body and blood, sanctifying the whole mass through the first-fruits (*Ibid.*, p. 276).

238 Theodoret Complains to Dioscorus of Alexandria that he has been Misrepresented, 447

Theodoret, *Ep.* LXXXIII

Thus I was compelled to write when I read the letters of your Holiness to the most pious and sacred Archbishop Domnus, for there was contained in them the statement that certain men have come to the illustrious city administered by your Holiness, and have accused me of dividing the one Lord Jesus Christ into two sons; and this, when preaching at Antioch, where innumerable hearers swell the congregation. I wept for the men who had the hardihood to contrive the vain calumny against me. But I grieved, and, my Lord, forgive me, forced as I am by pain to speak, that your pious Excellency did not

reserve one ear unbiased for me instead of believing the lies of my accusers. Yet they were but three or four or about a dozen; while I have countless hearers to testify to the orthodoxy of my teaching. Six years I continued teaching in the time of Theodotus, bishop of Antioch, of blessed and sacred memory, who was famous alike for his distinguished career and for his knowledge of the divine doctrines. Thirteen years I taught in the time of Bishop John of sacred and blessed memory, who was so delighted at my discourses as to raise both his hands and again and again to start up: your Holiness in your own letters has borne witness how, brought up as he was from boyhood with the divine oracles, the knowledge which he had of the divine doctrines was most exact. Besides these, this is the seventh year of the most pious Lord Archbishop Domnus. Up to this present day, after the lapse of so long a time, not one of the pious bishops, not one of the devout clergy, has ever at any time found any fault with my utterances. And with how much gratification Christian people hear our discourses, your godly Excellency can easily learn from travellers in one direction and another. (NPNF, slightly altered.)

Domnus: bishop of Antioch, 441–49, deposed at the council of Ephesus, 449, and not reinstated at Chalcedon.

certain men have come: appeals of this kind proved dangerous to both John Chrysostom and Nestorius at Constantinople.

Theodotus: bishop of Antioch, 420–29.

John: bishop of Antioch, 429–41, see 223, 226 above.

This letter reflects the opening phase of the crisis that was to reach its climax at the Council of Chalcedon in the Autumn of 451 (see 246–50 below). Theodoret is not exaggerating his services. He opposed the Marcionites who were in considerable numbers in his diocese (see 244 below) and it is from him that we learn of the continued use of Tatian's *Diatessaron* among non-orthodox communities and which he opposed (*Haereticorum Fabulae*, 1.20). (For Tatian, see *NER*, 104 and p. 383.)

239 Petition of his Clergy in favour of Ibas, Bishop of Edessa, 448

From Council of Chalcedon, *Actio X* (Mansi, *Concilia*, VII.249–56)

By many and diverse persons coming from Phœnicia we have been informed of the proceedings of those who made an attack upon our God-beloved and holy Bishop Ibas. We were alarmed at what was alleged; for what they said went far beyond anything ever heard from atheists, unbelievers, heretics, Jews or heathen. In our presence they affirmed that our bishop said, 'I do not envy Christ becoming God; the same thing might have happened to me, had I chosen.' All of us who heard these words declare to your Worship, as in the presence of the

all-merciful God, that we never heard anything of the sort said by any one, nor did anything of the kind reach our ears at any time. We acknowledge ourselves accursed and subject to the pains of hell if ever we knew of anything like this being said by him, or anything else contrary to the Catholic Faith. If we were to admit such a statement, or to communicate with him who said it, or to join with him in the celebration of the Sacrifice, we should deserve the utmost penalty, as taking a share in such an abomination. We pray and beseech your Wisdoms to persuade our reverend bishop to return to his flock as quickly as possible. It is in danger of being torn to pieces by all, since there is no one able to attend to it; the more so as Easter, the feast of salvation, is at hand, and there is need of his presence for the catechizings and for those who are ready for baptism. And we beg that this our request may be inserted in the minutes in the presence of your Wisdoms, that there be no lack of publicity. [Signed by sixty-three clergy of Edessa, some in Greek, others in Syriac.] (Kidd, *Documents*, No. 207.)

Your Worship . . . your Wisdoms: Photius, Bishop of Tyre, and Eustathius of Berytus, Imperial Commissioners for the trial of Ibas.

Ibas, who succeeded the pro-Cyrrilline Rabbula in 435, was a particular target for Dioscorus' attacks. (See Frend, *Monophysites*, pp. 30–31 and Kidd, *History of the Church to 461*, pp. 289–91)

240 The Admissions of Eutyches, 22 November 448

From Council of Constantinople, *Sessio VII* (Mansi, *Concilia*, VI, 744)

Archbishop Flavian said: Do you confess that the one and the same Son, our Lord Jesus Christ, is consubstantial with his Father as to his Divinity, and consubstantial with his mother as to his humanity?

Eutyches said: When I entrusted myself to your Holiness, I said that you should not ask me further what I thought concerning the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost.

The Archbishop said: Do you confess Christ to be of two natures?

Eutyches said: I have never yet presumed to speculate concerning the nature of my God, the Lord of heaven and earth; I confess that I have never said that he is consubstantial with us. Up to the present day I have not said that the body of our Lord and God was consubstantial with us; I confess that the Holy Virgin is consubstantial with us, and that of her our God was incarnate . . .

Florentius, the patrician, said: Since the mother is consubstantial with us, doubtless the Son is consubstantial with us.

Eutyches said: I have not said, you will notice, that the body of a man

became the body of God, but the body was human, and the Lord was incarnate of the Virgin. If you wish that I should add to this that his body is consubstantial with us, I will do this; but I do not understand the term consubstantial in such a way that I do not deny that he is the Son of God. Formerly I spoke in general not of a consubstantiality according to the flesh: now I will do so, because your Holiness demands it . . .

Florentius said: Do you or do you not confess that our Lord, who is of the Virgin, is consubstantial and of two natures after the Incarnation?

Eutyches said: I confess that our Lord was of two natures before the union [*i.e.* the union of divinity and humanity in the incarnation], but after the union, one nature . . . I follow the teaching of the blessed Cyril and the holy Fathers and the holy Athanasius, because they speak of two natures before the union, but after the union and incarnation, they speak not of two natures but of one nature. (Kidd, *Documents II*, No. 208, pp. 284–5.)

The occasion was the Home Synod of the archbishopric of Constantinople to which the archimandrite Eutyches had been summoned to explain his views which appeared to be Apollinarian. Eutyches had found a firm supporter in Dioscorus.

241 The *Tome* of Leo, 13 June 449

Leo, *Ep.* XXVIII: Bindley-Green, pp. 168ff

'The *Tome* was written in order to influence the deliberations of the council which had been summoned by the Emperor Theodosius, against the wish of Flavian and of Leo himself, to meet in Ephesus, and which Leo afterwards—in one of those scathing phrases which become historic appellations—described as characterized by "latrocinium" or brigandage (*Ep.* XCV.2) under the tyrannous presidency of Dioscorus' (Bright, *St Leo on the Incarnation*, p. 224.) The riotous scenes at the first session of the Council on 8 August ensured that the *Tome* would not be read.

Leo to his well-beloved Brother Flavian:

- I After reading your letter, beloved, the late arrival of which is surprising, and carefully perusing the minutes of the episcopal synod, we now understand the scandal which has arisen among you touching the purity of the Faith; and what formerly seemed obscure, is now perfectly clear. In your letter, Eutyches, who bore the honoured name of presbyter, is shown to be very rash and far too inexperienced, so that it is of him also that the prophet's words are true: *He refused to be wise and to do good; he hath devised mischief upon his bed.*¹ For what is more

¹ Ps. 36.3,4 (Vulg. Ps. 35.4,5)

wicked than to be impiously minded and refuse to yield to those who are wiser and more learned than ourselves? But into this un wisdom men fall, who when prevented by some obscurity from arriving at the truth, have recourse not to the words of the prophets, not to the letters of the Apostles, not to the authority of the Gospels, but to themselves; and so become masters of error because they have never been disciples of truth. For what learning has he gained from the holy pages of the Old and New Testament, who does not understand the first words even of the Creed itself? And that which, all the world over, is proclaimed by the voice of all candidates for baptism, is not yet grasped by the heart of this aged character.

2 Not knowing, then, what he ought to hold concerning the Incarnation of the Word of God, and not willing to win the light of understanding by diligent search through the wide field of Holy Scripture, he should have at least received with patient hearing that general and uniform confession, in which the whole body of the Faithful profess to believe IN GOD THE FATHER ALMIGHTY, AND IN JESUS CHRIST HIS ONLY SON OUR LORD, WHO WAS BORN OF THE HOLY GHOST AND THE VIRGIN MARY, by which three statements the devices of well-nigh all heretics are overthrown. For when God is believed to be both Almighty and Father, it follows that the Son is shown to be coeternal with him, in nothing differing from the Father, because he was born GOD OF GOD, Almighty of Almighty, coeternal of eternal; not later in time nor inferior in power nor dissimilar in glory nor divided in essence (*essentia*); but the same only-begotten, eternal son of the eternal Father was born of the Holy Ghost and the Virgin Mary. Now this birth in time has taken nothing from, and added nothing to, that divine and eternal birth, but has bestowed itself wholly on the restoration of man who had been deceived; that he might conquer death and, by his own power, destroy the devil who had the sovereignty of death. For we could not have overcome the author of sin and death unless he had taken upon him our nature and made it his own—whom neither sin could defile nor death detain. For he was conceived of the Holy Ghost, in the womb of the Virgin Mother, who brought him forth without loss of virginity, even as she conceived him without loss of virginity.

But if Eutyches was unable to draw a right knowledge from this most pure source of the Christian faith, because he had darkened the brightness of clear truth by a blindness peculiar to himself, he ought to have submitted himself to the Gospel teaching, and when Matthew speaks of *The book of the generation of Jesus Christ, the son of David, the son of Abraham*,¹ he should have sought out also instructions from the preaching of the Apostle; and when he read in the Epistle to the

¹ Matt. 1.1

Romans, *Paul, a servant of Jesus Christ, called to be an apostle, separated unto the Gospel of God (which he had promised afore by his prophets in the holy Scriptures) concerning his Son who was made unto him of the seed of David, according to the flesh,*¹ he should have given loyal diligence to the prophetic pages. And finding there the promise of God to Abraham when he says, *In thy seed shall all nations be blessed,*² to avoid all doubt upon the proper meaning of this word 'seed', he should have followed the Apostle when he says, *To Abraham and his seed were the promises spoken. He says not 'to seeds', as of many; but, as of one 'and to thy seed', which is Christ,*³ He should, too, have apprehended with the inward ear those words of Isaiah: *Behold a virgin shall conceive, and bear a son, and they shall call his name Immanuel, which is being interpreted 'God with us'.*⁴ And he should have read with an honest and faithful heart the words of the same prophet, *Unto us a child is born, unto us a son is given; whose government shall be upon his shoulder, and his name shall be called Angel of great counsel, wonderful counsellor, the mighty God, the prince of peace, Father of the age to come.*⁵ Nor should Eutyches, speaking with intent to deceive, have said that the Word became flesh in such a way that Christ, born of the Virgin's womb, had the form of man but had not the reality of his mother's body. Or can it be that he supposed that our Lord Jesus was not of our nature because the angel, when sent to the blessed Mary, ever-virgin, declared, *The Holy Ghost shall come upon thee, and the power of the Highest shall overshadow thee, therefore also that holy thing that shall be born of thee shall be called the Son of God*⁶—on the supposition that, because the conception of the Virgin was an act of God, therefore the flesh of the Conceived was not of the nature of her that conceived it? But that birth, so uniquely wonderful and so wonderfully unique, ought not so to be understood that the distinctive character of its kind was lost through the novelty of its origin. For the Holy Spirit gave fruitfulness to the Virgin, but the reality of the body was received from her body; and *when Wisdom was building herself a house,*⁷ *the Word was made flesh and dwelt in us*⁸—that is, in that flesh which he took from humanity, and which he quickened with the spirit of a rational life.

- 3 The distinctive character of each nature and substance remaining, therefore, unimpaired and coming together into one Person, humility was assumed by majesty, weakness by power, mortality by eternity; and, in order to pay the debt of our condition, an inviolable nature was united to a nature capable of suffering so that as a remedy suitable to our healing one and the same *Mediator between God and men, the man Jesus Christ,*⁹ was capable of death in the one nature, and incapable of

¹ Rom. 1.1-3 (Vulg.)² Gen. 12.3³ Gal. 3.16⁴ Isa. 7.14⁵ Isa. 9.6 (*Angel of Great counsel is from LXX*)⁶ Luke 1.35⁷ Prov. 9.1⁸ John 1.14⁹ 1 Tim. 2.5

death in the other. Thus, in the whole and perfect nature of true manhood, true God was born—complete in what belonged to him, complete in what belonged to us. And by the words ‘what belonged to us’ we mean what the Creator formed in us from the beginning and what he took upon him in order to restore; for that which the Deceiver introduced, and man, being deceived, admitted, had no trace in the Saviour. Not, because he condescended to share human infirmities, was he therefore partaker in our sins. He took upon him *the form of a servant*¹ without stain of sin, increasing the human, not diminishing the divine; because that *self-emptying*, whereby the Invisible made himself visible and by which the Creator and Lord of all willed to be a mortal, was a stooping-down of pity, not a failure of power. Accordingly, he who, abiding in the form of God, made man, was also made man in the form of a servant. For each nature retains its own distinctive character without loss; and as the form of God does not take away the form of a servant, so the form of a servant does not diminish the form of God. For inasmuch as the Devil boasted that man, deceived by his guile, had been deprived of divine gifts, and, stript of the dower of immortality, had undergone the hard sentence of death, and that he himself (the devil) in his own evil case had found some consolation from having a partner in his transgression; that God moreover (as the principles of justice demanded) had changed his own purpose toward man whom he had created in so great honour: there was need for a dispensation of secret counsel, that the unchanging God, whose will cannot be robbed of its own mercy might accomplish the first design of his love towards us by a more hidden mystery; and that man, driven into guilt by the craft of diabolical wickedness, should not perish contrary to the purpose of God.

- 4 The Son of God, therefore, coming down from his seat in heaven, and yet not withdrawing from his Father’s glory, born after a new order by a new mode of birth, enters this lower world.² In a new order—because invisible in what belongs to himself he became visible in what belongs to us, and he, the incomprehensible, willed to be comprehended, abiding before time, he began to exist in time; the Lord of the Universe, drawing a shadow over the immensity of his majesty, took the form of a servant; the impassible God did not abhor to become man, subject to suffering, and, immortal as he is, to become subject to the laws of death; but he was born by a new kind of birth, inasmuch as inviolate virginity, which knew not the desire of the flesh, furnished the substance of flesh. Our Lord took from his mother nature, not sin; nor in our Lord Jesus Christ, born of a virgin’s womb, is the nature unlike ours because his birth was wonderful. For he that is true God is true man; nor in this unity is there any unreality, while

¹ Phil. 2.7² Cf. Eph. 4.9

the lowliness of the manhood and the loftiness of deity have their separate spheres. For just as God is not changed by the compassion exhibited, so the manhood is not absorbed by the dignity bestowed. Each form, in communion with the other, performs the function that is proper to it; that is, the Word performing what belongs to the Word, and the flesh carrying out what belongs to the flesh. The one sparkles with miracles, the other succumbs to injuries. And as the Word ceases not to be on an equality with the Father's glory, so the flesh does not forgo the nature of our race. For—a fact which must be repeated again and again—one and the same is truly Son of God, and truly Son of Man. 'He is God', inasmuch as *in the beginning was the Word, and the Word was with God, and the Word was God.*¹ 'Man' because *the Word was made flesh and dwelt among us.* 'God' because *all things were made through him, and without him nothing was made.*¹ 'Man' inasmuch as *he was made of a woman, made under the law.*²

The birth of the flesh is a manifestation of human nature; the childbearing of a virgin a token of divine power. The infancy of the babe is shown by its lowly cradle; the greatness of the Most High is declared by the voices of angels. He whom Herod wickedly strives to kill is like a human infant; but he is the Lord of all whom the Magi rejoice humbly to adore. Already when he came to the baptism of his forerunner, John, lest he should not be known because his divinity was hidden by the veil of flesh, the Father's voice thundered from heaven *This is my beloved Son in whom I am well pleased.*³ He whom the craft of the Devil tempts as man, is the same that the Angels minister to as God. To hunger, to thirst, to be weary and to sleep, is obviously human; but with five loaves to satisfy five thousand people and to bestow on the woman of Samaria that living water, a draught of which will cause the drinker to thirst no more; to walk upon the surface of the sea with feet that do not sink, and to calm the rising waves by rebuking the tempest, is without question divine.

As therefore, to pass over many examples, it does not belong to the same nature to weep for a dead friend with emotions of pity, and to recall the same friend from the dead with a word of power when the stone was taken away which had covered the grave for four days; or to hang on the cross and, changing light into darkness, make all the elements to quake; or to be pierced with nails and open the gates of Paradise to the malefactor's faith: so it does not belong to the same nature to say *I and my Father are one,*⁴ and to say *My Father is greater than I.*⁵ For although in the Lord Jesus Christ God and man are one Person, nevertheless the source of the shame that is common to both is one thing; the source of the glory that is common to both, another. For

¹ John 1.1,3,14² Gal. 4.4³ Matt. 3.17⁴ John 10.30⁵ John 14.28

from our side he possesses the humanity that is inferior to the Father, and from the Father he possesses the divinity that is equal to the Father.

- 5 By reason, then, of this unity of Person to be understood in both natures, the Son of Man is said to have *come down from heaven* when the Son of God took flesh from the Virgin from whom he was born; and, again, the Son of God is said to have been crucified and buried, though he suffered these things not in the Godhead itself, wherein the Only-begotten is coeternal and consubstantial with the Father, but in the weakness of human nature. Accordingly we all confess in the Creed that THE ONLY BEGOTTEN SON OF GOD WAS CRUCIFIED AND BURIED, according to that saying of the Apostle, *For if they had known, they would never have crucified the Lord of Glory.*¹

Now when our Lord and Saviour himself was instructing the faith of his disciples by questioning them, he said, *Who do men say that I, the Son of Man, am?* And when they had recounted the divers opinions of others, he said, *But you, who do you say that I am?* I (that is to say) who am the Son of Man, and whom you behold in the form of a servant and in the reality of flesh, 'who say you that I am?' Whereupon blessed Peter, divinely inspired, and by his confession destined to profit all nations, exclaimed, *Thou art the Christ, Son of the living God.*² Not undeservedly was he pronounced 'blessed' by the Lord, and from the original rock drew the strength both of his power and his name confessing as he did that the self-same person was both Son of God and Christ; seeing that the reception of one of these truths apart from the other profited not to salvation, and there was equal danger in believing the Lord Jesus Christ to be God only and not man also, or man only and not God.

But after the Lord's resurrection (which of course was that of a true body, because no other was raised than he that had been crucified and died) what else was done in the forty days' interval than the cleansing of the purity of our faith from all darkness? For conversing with his disciples, living and eating with them, and suffering himself to be handled with diligent and careful touch by those whom doubt oppressed—to that end also, the doors being shut, he would enter in among his disciples and with his breath gave them the Holy Spirit, and, enlightening their understandings, laid open the secrets of holy Scriptures; and again the self-same Lord showed the wound in his side, the print of the nails, and all the recent signs of his Passion, saying, *Behold my hands and my feet, that it is I; handle me and see, for a spirit has not flesh and bones as you see me have.*³ And all to this end that in him the properties of his divine and human nature might be recognized as continuing inseparable, and that we might understand

¹ I Cor. 2.8

² Matt. 16.3ff

³ Luke 24.39

that the Word is not the same as the flesh, in such a sense as to confess that the one Son of God is both Word and flesh.

Of this mystery of the faith this man Eutyches must be adjudged to be utterly ignorant, for he has not acknowledged our nature in the Only-begotten Son of God either through the humiliation of his mortality or through the glory of his resurrection. Neither has he been reverent at the declaration of the blessed apostle and evangelist, John, who says, *every Spirit that confesses Jesus Christ to have come in the flesh is of God; and every spirit that disunites Jesus is not of God: and this is Anti-Christ.*¹ Now what is it to 'disunite' Jesus but to sever his human nature from him, and to make void, by the most barefaced fictions, the mystery whereby alone we are saved? In truth, being wholly in the dark touching the nature of Christ's body, he must needs be fooled by the same blindness in the case of his passion also. For if he does not deem the Lord's cross to be unreal, and does not doubt the reality of the punishment that he underwent for the world's salvation, let him acknowledge the flesh of him whose death he believes; and let him not disbelieve that he whom he knows to have been subject to suffering was a man of like body to ours, since denial of this true flesh is denial also of his bodily Passion. If, therefore, he received the Christian faith, and turns not a deaf ear to the preaching of the Gospel, let him consider what nature it was that, pierced with nails, hung on the wood of the Cross; and when the side of the crucified was opened by a soldier's spear, let him understand whence it was the *water and blood*² flowed that the Church of God might be washed both by font and by cup.

Let him hear also blessed Peter, the Apostle, proclaiming that *the sanctification of the Spirit is wrought through the sprinkling of Christ's blood*; and let him read—in no cursory fashion—the words of the same apostle when he says, *knowing that you were redeemed not with corruptible things as silver and gold, from your vain way of life, inherited by tradition from your fathers, but with the precious blood of Jesus Christ, as of a lamb without blemish and without spot.*³ Let him also not resist the witness of the apostle John, *The blood of Jesus, Son of God, cleanses us from all sin,*⁴ and again, *This is the victory which overcomes the world, even our Faith. And, Who is he that overcomes the world but he that believes that Jesus is the Son of God? This is he that came by water and blood even Jesus Christ; not in water only, but in water and blood. And it is the Spirit that bears witness because the Spirit is truth. For there are three that bear witness, the Spirit, the water, and the blood, and these three are one.*⁵ That is, the Spirit of sanctification, the blood of redemption, and the water of baptism; which three things are one and continue indivisible and no one of them

¹ 1 John 4.2ff² John 19.34³ 1 Pet. 1.2, 18⁴ 1 John 1.7⁵ 1 John 5.4ff

is severed from its union with the others; because by this faith the Catholic Church lives, by this it progresses, so that in Christ Jesus neither the manhood is believed without true Godhead, nor the Godhead without true manhood.

- 6 When, however, in reply to your examination, Eutyches replied, 'I acknowledge that our Lord was of two natures before the union, but after that union I acknowledge one nature', I marvel that so absurd and perverse an admission was not severely rebuked by his judges; and that an extremely foolish and blasphemous utterance was passed over as though nothing offensive had been heard. For it is just as impious to say that the Only-begotten Son of God was of two natures before the Incarnation, as it is wicked to assert that, after the Word became flesh, there was but a single nature in him. To prevent Eutyches regarding this statement as either right or defensible, because it was not confuted by any definite opinion expressed by you, we warn you, dear Brother, to be extremely solicitous that if, through God's merciful inspiration, the case is satisfactorily settled, this rash and ignorant man may be purged also from this pestilent opinion of his. For indeed, as the minutes of the proceedings have shown, he had made a good beginning by beating a retreat from his opinion, when, hemmed in by your decision, he made a show of saying what he had not said before, and of acquiescing in that belief to which previously he had been a stranger. But when he had refused to anathematize the impious doctrine, you and your brethren saw clearly that he continued in his false belief and deserved a verdict of condemnation. And yet if he grieves over this sincerely and to good purpose and acknowledges, even at this late hour, how rightly the episcopal authority has been set in motion; or if, for complete satisfaction, he condemns all his erroneous views with his own lips and by actual subscription, then no blame can attach to any pity shown towards him, now penitent, how great soever it be. For our Lord, the true Good Shepherd, *who laid down his life for the sheep*, and *who came to save men's souls, not to destroy*,¹ would have us be imitators of his loving-kindness, to the end that justice should indeed restrain sinners, but that mercy should not reject the penitent. For then is the true Faith most profitably defended, when a false opinion is condemned even by its own upholders.

Now with a view to the loyal and faithful carrying out of the whole business we have appointed as our representatives our brothers Julius, bishop, and Renatus, presbyter; and also my son Hilary, deacon. With them we have Dulcitius our notary, of whose fidelity we have had proof, confidently trusting that God's help will be vouchsafed, so that he who had erred may be saved, now that his mischevicious opinion has been condemned. God keep you safe, dearly beloved brother.

¹ John 10.15; Luke 9.56

Dated 13 June, in the consulship of the illustrious Asturius and Protophenes. (E. H. Blakeney, *The Tome of Pope Leo the Great*, altered.)

1. *your letter*: i.e. *Ep. XXII* in the collection of Leo's letters.

The episcopal synod: i.e. the Home Synod (σύνοδος ἐνδημοῦσα) made up of bishops who happened to be at Constantinople (see 239n above). Leo was at one time in doubt about the case of Eutyches: cf. *Ep. XXXIV*, 'We were long uncertain what was the matter with Eutyches' teaching in the eyes of the Catholics.'

2. *Born of the Holy Ghost and the Virgin Mary: de Spiritu Sancto et Maria virgine* as in the Roman Creed (cf. 5 above).

without loss of virginity: this had become the usual view, cf. Bindley-Green, *ad loc.*, pp. 175-6, and cf. sect. 2 below, *blessed Mary ever-virgin*.

had the form of man but had not the reality of his mother's body: this was not really the view of Eutyches, but of some of his supporters and of some Apollinarians, who held that the flesh of Christ existed in heaven before the incarnation.

distinctive character (proprietas) (as also in sect. 3 init.): 'The novel mode of the birth did not remove it from the category of real births' (Bindley-Green, p. 176).

3. *an inviolable nature was united . . . incapable of death in the other*: the first of the three passages criticized at Chalcedon by Illyrian and Palestinian bishops on the ground that Leo 'follows the Nestorian path and sees in Christ two parallel spheres of being, each in its "ownness"' (See Sellers, *The Council of Chalcedon*, pp. 245ff.)

4. *the incomprehensible . . .* 'He who could not be enclosed in space, willed to be enclosed' (Bright, *op. cit.* p. 115).

Each form, in communion with the other . . . injuries: this is the second passage criticized at Chalcedon. To meet this criticism, Aëtius, archdeacon at Constantinople, used a passage from a letter of Cyril to Acacius of Melitene (PG, LXXVII.196): 'There are some sayings which are in the highest degree God-befitting; others befit manhood; and others there are which, as it were, hold a middle rank, demonstrating that the Son of God is at once God and man' (Sellers, *op. cit.* p. 247). Cf. the concluding words of the *Formula of Reunion*, p. 315 above.

For although in the Lord Jesus Christ . . . equal to the Father: the third criticized passage, defended by Theodoret from Cyril, *Scholia* 27: 'He became Man and did not change his properties, for he remained what he was; for it is assuredly understood that it is one thing which is dwelling in another thing—that is, the divine nature in manhood' (Sellers, *op. cit.*, p. 248).

5. *from the original rock (a principali petra)*: i.e. from Christ himself.

which disunites Jesus: cf. 216 above. This is the Vulgate reading of 1 John 4.3.

6. *Julius, bishop, etc.*: Julius was bishop of Puteoli; Renatus died at Delos on the journey; Hilary was archdeacon at Rome, and succeeded Leo as bishop. These were of course the delegates to the council of Ephesus in 449, not to the council of Chalcedon.

242 Hilary, Legate of Leo, Resists the Deposition of Flavian at the Council of Ephesus, 449

Text in *ACO*, II.iii.i, pp. 238–9

Dioscorus, bishop of Alexandria, said: 'The holy and great synod of Nicaea, long ago assembled by the will of God, decreed our true and pure faith, and the council which recently assembled here confirmed it and laid down that it holds this faith alone, which is transmitted in the Church, ordaining that none is permitted in any respect to set forth or investigate another faith than this, or innovate or make any alteration at all in our venerable religion; but those who, going beyond these injunctions try to be falsely wise or seek out or put together, or reissue what has been ordained, it subjects to certain punishments so that, if they are bishops and clergy they are to be removed from their rank, if laymen they are to be deprived of communion.

Well, now you see that Flavian, bishop of Constantinople, here before us, and Eusebius of Dorylaeum have unsettled everything, and are become a scandal to all the Churches and to the Catholics everywhere. It is plain that they have made themselves liable to the punishment decreed by our holy Fathers. It follows that the above-mentioned Flavian and Eusebius must be deposed from all episcopal and priestly dignity. We therefore pronounce them deposed, and all the bishops shall declare their opinion . . . Further the Emperors will be informed of to-day's proceedings'. Bishop Flavian said: 'I disclaim your authority.' Hilary, deacon of the Roman Church, said: 'I dissent emphatically (*contradicatur*).'

When the above was read out at the council of Chalcedon, it was received with cries of 'Anathema to Dioscorus! this hour condemns him; this hour he is damned. Blessed Lord, avenge him (Flavian), Holy Emperor, avenge him. Long live Leo! Long live the patriarch!' (Partly from Giles, *Documents*, pp. 301–2.)

243 The Council of Ephesus, 449: Flavian's Appeal to Leo

Text in Kirch, *Enchiridion*, pp.489ff; in T. A. Lacey, *Appellatio Flaviani* (Church Historical Society, LXX), pp. 46ff; *ACO*, II.2.i, pp. 77–9

To the most religious and blessed Father and Archbishop Leo, Flavian sends greetings in the Lord.

- I I had good cause for referring my present situation to your Holiness, and for using an appeal to your apostolic authority, asking that it should reach out to the East and bring help to the pious faith of the holy Fathers, which they have handed down to us with such toil and

- 2 sweat, and which is now in danger. Everything is in complete confusion: the laws of the Church are abolished: in matters of faith all is lost: pious souls are bewildered by controversy. Men do not now speak of the faith of the Fathers, but the fact is that the views of Eutyches are now preached and praised by Dioscorus, bishop of
- 3 Alexandria, and those who think as he does. For his decree is the confirmation of this 'faith', as is the vote of those bishops who had been compelled by force to agree to it. I find it impossible to refer to your Blessedness each several circumstance, but we shall explain briefly to you what happened.
- 4-6 [The bishops had arrived at Ephesus, in accordance with the imperial summons, and met Leo's legates. There was general agreement among the bishops, except for the Alexandrian contingent, whose previous contempt for the writer had been very marked.
- 7-8 Dioscorus suddenly called the council together; he refused any general consideration of the decisions of Nicaea or of Ephesus (431)]
- 9 but, giving orders that I and the bishops who sat in judgement with me, and my clergy also, should not be allowed any hearing or the utterance of a word of defence on any point, threatening also some with deposition, some with imprisonment, others with various punishments, he clears the way for the immediate reading in our presence of an account of the matter previously prepared by Eutyches.
- 10 After this he directed the aforesaid Eutyches to put in a written charge against me, and when this was read, treating me as unworthy of any argument or question, he rose at once to his feet, declared him Catholic, reinstating him in the priesthood, and also compelled some bishops against their will to make the same declaration . . .
- 12 Shortly afterwards he proposed the reading of the canons formerly enacted at Ephesus, in which is contained the decree that 'if anyone attempt to disturb the settlement there made by the Fathers, being a bishop, he shall be deposed' and so on. That sentence should be effective against Eutyches, who so openly declared himself for the
- 13 introduction of Apollinarianism. Yet Dioscorus did nothing of the kind, but proposed the condemnation of me and Eusebius, the bishops all weeping, and would not grant to their entreaties a postponement for a single day; and having made this motion he compelled some of the
- 14 other bishops to assent to this abominable condemnation, swords being drawn upon those who wished for a postponement on the ground that he would not allow the letter of your Holiness to be read, since that would sufficiently establish the faith of our fathers, but neglecting what might open the way of truth even to angry and brutal minds, and requiring statements irrational and full of blindness to be received and read, he treated your delegates as if they were unworthy
- 15 to utter a single word; but with a sort of rush shamefully managed by him alone, all wrongs, so to say, were suddenly packed into one day,

- riot, the restoration of the condemned, the condemnation of the innocent—of men who have never in any way thought of transgressing against the authority of the Fathers. And since all was going unjustly against me, as if by a settled agreement, after the iniquitous proposal which, of his own motion, he levelled at me, on my appealing to the throne of the Apostolic See of Peter, the Prince of the Apostles, and to the holy council in general which meets under your Holiness, a crowd of soldiers at once surrounds me, prevents me from taking refuge at the holy altar, as I desired, and tried to drag me out of the church.
- 17 Then amid the utmost tumult I barely succeeded in reaching a certain part of the church, and there I hid myself with my companions, not without being watched, however, to prevent my reporting to you all the wrongs which have been done me.
- 18 I therefore beseech your Holiness not to let things rest in regard to this mad plot which has been carried out against me, since there are no grounds for bringing me into judgement; but rise up first in the cause of our right faith which has been recklessly destroyed; and further, in view of the violated laws of the Church, assume their guardianship, simply stating the facts throughout to the more honourable among the people, and instructing with suitable letters our faithful and Christian Emperor.
- 19–21 [Flavian asks Leo to write also to the Church of Constantinople and to his chief opponents, though he believes these to be far fewer in number than his well-wishers. He asks Leo to call a general council both of East and West.] (T. A. Lacey, *Appellatio Flaviani*, altered.)

Flavian had already been in correspondence with Leo, cf. the beginning of the latter's *Tome* (241 above).

9. *who sat in judgement with me*: i.e. at the synod at Constantinople at which Eutyches had been condemned.

12. *if anyone attempt etc.*: Ephesus, canon 6 (224 above).

13. *Eusebius*: of Dorylaeum, the accuser of Eutyches, cf. 242 above.

14. *the letter of your Holiness*: i.e. the *Tome*.

The fate of Flavian is uncertain. At the council of Chalcedon it was stated that he had been killed at Ephesus, but the existence of this letter shows that he survived long enough after the Ephesian council to address his appeal to Leo. See, for example, Fliche et Martin, *Histoire de l'Église*, IV, p. 223, n. 1.

244 The Appeal of Theodoret to Leo, 449

Theodoret, *Ep.* CXIII

Theodoret had supported Nestorius, but at last had come to terms with Cyril of Alexandria. But after Cyril's death (444) he became involved in controversy about the see of Tyre, and fell foul of Dioscorus, Cyril's successor. An edict was issued by Theodosius II confining Theodoret to his own diocese, and at

the council of Ephesus in 449 he was deposed. Hence this appeal.

At the first session of the council of Chalcedon it was stated that Theodoret had been restored by Leo, but he was not allowed to sit in the council till he had anathematized Nestorius.

For the very righteous bishop of Alexandria was not content with the illegal and very unrighteous deposition of the most holy and godly bishop of Constantinople, the lord Flavian, nor was his soul satisfied with a similar slaughter of the rest of the bishops, but me too in my absence he stabbed with a pen, without summoning me to trial, without trying me in my presence, without questioning me as to my opinions about the incarnation of our God and Saviour. Even murderers, tomb-breakers, and adulterers, are not condemned by their judges until either they have themselves confirmed by confession the charges brought against them, or have been clearly convicted by the testimony of others. Yet I, nurtured as I have been in the divine laws, have been condemned by him at his pleasure, when all the while I was five and thirty days' march away.

Nor is this all that he has done. Only last year when two fellows tainted with the unsoundness of Apollinarius had gone thither and patched up slanders against me, he stood up in church and anathematized me and that after I had written to him and explained my opinions to him.

I lament the storm raging over the Church, and long for peace. Six and twenty years have I ruled the Church entrusted to me by the God of all, aided by your prayers. Never in the time of the blessed Theodotus, the chief bishop of the East; never in the time of his successors in the see of Antioch, did I incur the slightest blame. By the help of God's grace working with me I rescued more than a thousand souls from the plague of Marcion; many others from the Arian and Eunomian factions did I bring over to our Master Christ. I have done pastoral duty in eight hundred churches, for so many parishes does Cyrrhus contain; and in them, through your prayers, not even one tare is left, and our flock is delivered from all heresy and error. He who sees all things knows how many stones have been cast at me by heretics of ill repute, how many conflicts in most of the cities of the East I have waged against pagans, against Jews, against every heretical error. After all this sweat and toil I have been condemned without a trial.

But I await the sentence of your Apostolic See. I beseech and implore your Holiness to succour me in my appeal to your fair and righteous tribunal. Bid me hasten to you, and prove to you that my teaching follows the footprints of the apostles. I have in my possession what I wrote twenty years ago; what I wrote eighteen, fifteen, twelve, years ago; against Arians and Eunomians, against Jews and pagans; against the magi in Persia; on universal Providence; on theology and on the divine incarnation. By God's grace I have interpreted the

writings of the apostles and the oracles of the prophets. From these it is not difficult to ascertain whether I have adhered to the right rule of faith, or have swerved from its straight course. Do not, I implore you, spurn my prayer; regard, I implore you, the insults piled after all my labours on my poor grey head.

Above all, I implore you to tell me whether I ought to put up with this unrighteous deposition or not; for I await your decision. If you bid me abide by the sentence of condemnation, I abide; and henceforth I will trouble no man, and will wait for the unbiased tribunal of our God and Saviour. God is my witness that I care not for honour and glory. I care only for the scandal that has been caused, in that many of the simpler folk, and especially those whom I have rescued from various heresies, cleaving to the authority of my judges and quite unable to understand the exact truth of the doctrine, will perhaps suppose me guilty of heresy.

All the people of the East know that during all the time of my episcopate I have not acquired a house, not a piece of ground, not a farthing, not a tomb, but of my own accord have embraced poverty, after distributing, at the death of my parents, the whole of the property which I inherited from them. (NPNF, altered.)

Theodotus: bishop of Antioch from 420 to 429.

so many parishes does Cyrrhus contain: the town of Cyrrhus was 'a wretched little place, scantily inhabited' (Jackson, 'Introduction to Theodoret', in NPNF, p. 3), but Theodoret bestirred himself vigorously to build worthy buildings, and to attract craftsmen there, and also doctors, cf. Theodoret, *Ep.* CXV.

245 Nestorius and the *Tome* of Leo, 451

From Nestorius, *The Book of Heracleides*, French Tr., F. Nau, p. 298

For the Bishop of Rome read what had been done against Eutyches, and he condemned Eutyches because of his impiety. As for myself, when I had found and read this writing, I thanked God that the Church of Rome had an orthodox and irreproachable confession of faith, although, in so far as concerns me she had come to a different decision (tr. from Nau, as given above).

this writing: this must be a reference to the *Tome*.

to a different decision: even though Alexandrian theology received a check at Chalcedon, no one was willing to support Nestorius, who nevertheless believed, by 451, that Leo was saying what he (Nestorius) had always said.

246 The Chalcedonian Definition of the Faith

Text in Bindley-Green, pp. 191-3

- 1 The holy, great and ecumenical council, by the grace of God and the decree of our most pious and Christ-loving Emperors, Marcian and Valentinian, Augusti, assembled in the city of the Chalcedonians, metropolis of the province of Bithynia, in the church of the holy and gloriously triumphant martyr Euphemia, has decreed as follows.
- 2 Our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, confirming his disciples in the knowledge of the faith, said, *My peace I leave with you; my peace I give unto you,*¹ to the intent that no one should vary from his neighbour in the doctrines of religion, but that the preaching of the truth should be uniformly set forth to all. But seeing that the evil one does not cease from choking with his own tares the seeds of true religion, and is continually devising some new device against the truth, therefore our Sovereign Lord taking thought for mankind, as is his wont, stirred up the zeal of this pious and most faithful Emperor, i.e. Marcian, and called together to himself the chiefs of the priesthood from all parts, to the intent that he might remove, by the effectual working of the grace of Christ, our common Sovereign, every impurity from the sheep of Christ, and make them fat with the fresh shoots of the truth.

This then we have done, having, by a common sentence, driven away the doctrines of error, and having renewed the unerring faith of the Fathers, proclaiming to all the Creed of the 318 and endorsing as our own the Fathers who received this godly document, namely the 150, who afterwards met together in great Constantinople and set their seal to the same faith.

We decree, therefore (ourselves also adhering to the order and all the formulas of the faith of the holy council formerly held at Ephesus, under the presidency of Coelestine, bishop of Rome, and Cyril, bishop of Alexandria, both of most holy memory), that the exposition of the orthodox and irreproachable faith set forth by the 318 holy and blessed Fathers who met at Nicaea, in the time of the Emperor Constantine of pious memory, retain its place of honour, and also that the definition of the 150 holy Fathers at Constantinople, for the taking away of the heresies then recently sprung up, and for the confirmation of our same Catholic and Apostolic faith, continue still in force.

The Creed of the 318 at Nicaea

We believe in one God the Father Almighty, Maker of all things visible and invisible; And in one Lord Jesus Christ, the Son of God, begotten of the Father, only-begotten, that is, from the substance of the Father,

¹ John 14.27

God from God, Light from Light, True God from True God, Begotten, not made, of one substance with the Father, through Whom all things were made, Who for us men and for our salvation came down (from heaven), and became incarnate (from the Holy Ghost and the Virgin Mary), and was made man, (And was crucified for us under Pontius Pilate), (And) suffered (and was buried) And rose on the third day (according to the Scriptures), And ascended into heaven, (And sits on the right hand of the Father), And is coming (again) with glory to judge living and dead, (Whose kingdom shall have no end), And in the Holy Ghost, (the Lord, the Giver of Life).

But those who say, There was when the Son of God was not, and Before he was begotten he was not, and that he came into being from things that are not, or that he is of another substance or essence, or that he is mutable or alterable—the Catholic and Apostolic Church anathematizes.

The Creed of the 150 assembled at Constantinople

We believe in one God the Father Almighty, Maker of heaven and earth and of all things visible and invisible; And in one Lord Jesus Christ, The only-begotten Son of God, begotten from the Father before all ages, Light from Light, true God from true God, begotten, not made, of one substance with the Father, through Whom all things were made, Who for us men and for our salvation came down from heaven, and became incarnate from the Holy Ghost and the Virgin Mary, and was made man, And was crucified for us under Pontius Pilate, and suffered, and was buried, And rose the third day according to the Scriptures, And ascended into heaven and sits on the right hand of the Father, And is coming again with glory to judge both living and dead, Whose kingdom shall have no end; And in the Holy Ghost, The Lord and Giver of life, Who proceeds from the Father, Who with the Father and the Son is jointly worshipped and jointly glorified, Who spoke through the prophets; In one holy Catholic and Apostolic Church; We acknowledge one baptism for the remission of sins, We look for the resurrection of the dead, And the life of the world to come. Amen.

- 3 This wise and salutary Creed, therefore, derived from divine grace suffices for the perfect acknowledgement and confirmation of godliness; for concerning the Father and the Son and the Holy Ghost, its teaching is complete, and to those who accept it faithfully it sets forth in addition the Incarnation of the Lord.

But since those who, taking in hand to set aside the preaching of the truth by heresies of their own, have uttered vain babblings, some daring to pervert the mystery of the dispensation, which for our sakes the Lord undertook, and denying the propriety of the name *Theotokos*,

as applied to the Virgin, and others bringing in a confusion and mixing of natures, and fondly feigning that there is but one nature of the flesh and Godhead, and by this confusion absurdly maintaining that the divine nature of the only-begotten is passible—for this reason, the holy, great, ecumenical council now in session, being desirous of precluding every device of theirs against the truth, teaching in its fullness the doctrine which from the beginning has remained unshaken, has decreed, in the first place that the Creed of the 318 Fathers remain inviolate; and on account of those who impugn the Holy Spirit, it ratifies and confirms the doctrine delivered subsequently, concerning the essence of the Spirit, by the 150 holy Fathers, who were assembled in the imperial city, which they made known to all, not as though they were supplying some omission of their predecessors, but distinctly declaring by written testimony their own understanding concerning the Holy Spirit, against those who were endeavouring to set aside his Sovereignty; and on account of those who attempt to pervert the mystery of the Incarnation, shamelessly and senselessly babbling that he who was born of the holy Mary was a mere man, it has accepted the synodical letters of the blessed Cyril, pastor of the Church of Alexandria, to Nestorius and to the Orientals, in keeping with those Creeds, for the confutation of the folly of Nestorius, and for the explanation of the salutary Creed to those who, in godly zeal, desire the true understanding thereof: to which also it has suitably joined, for the confirmation of the orthodox faith, the letter of the Ruler of the greatest and elder Rome, the most blessed and most holy Archbishop Leo, written to the saintly Archbishop Flavian, for the overthrow of the impiety of Eutyches, since it agrees with the confession of the great Peter, and is a pillar of support to all against the heterodox.

- 4 For the synod is opposed to those who presume to rend asunder the mystery of the Incarnation into a double Sonship, and it deposes from the priesthood those who dare to say that the Godhead of the Only-begotten is passible; and it withstands those who imagine a mixing or confusion of the two natures of Christ; and it drives away those who erroneously teach that the form of a servant which he took from us was of a heavenly or some other substance; and it anathematizes those who feign that the Lord had two natures before the union, but that these were fashioned into one after the union.

Wherefore, following the holy Fathers, we all with one voice confess our Lord Jesus Christ one and the same Son, the same perfect in Godhead, the same perfect in manhood, truly God and truly man, the same consisting of a reasonable soul and a body, of one substance with the Father as touching the Godhead, the same of one substance with us as touching the manhood, *like us in all things apart from sin*¹;

¹ Heb. 4.15

begotten of the Father before the ages as touching the Godhead, the same in the last days, for us and for our salvation, born from the Virgin Mary, the *Theotokos*, as touching the manhood, one and the same Christ, Son, Lord, Only-begotten, to be acknowledged in two natures, without confusion, without change, without division, without separation; the distinction of natures being in no way abolished because of the union, but rather the characteristic property of each nature being preserved, and concurring into one Person and one subsistence (ὑπόστασις), not as if Christ were parted or divided into two persons, but one and the same Son and only-begotten God, Word, Lord, Jesus Christ; even as the Prophets from the beginning spoke concerning him, and our Lord Jesus Christ instructed us, and the Creed of the Fathers has handed down to us.

- 5 These things, therefore, having been formulated by us with all possible exactness and care, the holy ecumenical council decrees, that it is unlawful for anyone to produce another faith, whether by writing, or composing, or holding, or teaching others. And those who presume either to compose another creed or to publish or teach, or deliver another creed to those who desire to turn to the acknowledgement of the truth from heathenism, or Judaism, or from any heresy whatsoever, these—if they are bishops or clergy—the bishops to be deposed from the episcopate, and the clergy from the clerical office: but if they are monks or laymen, to be anathematized. (C. A. Heurtley, *On Faith and the Creed*, altered, principally from Bindley-Green.)

For a commentary on the *Definition* see Sellers, *The Council of Chalcedon*, pp. 207–28.

1. *Marcian*: Marcian was husband of Pulcheria, sister of Theodosius II; Pulcheria had been Augusta from 414, but on succeeding to the Empire on her brother's death in 450, she took Marcian, an eminent soldier, as her husband.

Valentinian: i.e. Valentinian III, grandson of Theodosius I, Emperor 425–55. 'He was managed by his mother (Galla Placidia) till her death in 450. His character was weak and vicious, and after her death he plunged from one crime to another, till in 455 he was assassinated by the friends of a lady whom he had outraged.' (DCB s.v.)

the church (μαρτύριον) . . . *of the martyr Euphemia*: cf. 247 below, can.6. This building is described by Evagrius, *HE*, II.3.

2. *in great Constantinople*: in 381, see also 91 above.

at Ephesus: in 431, see also 224 above. For the 'Ephesine Decree' incorporated in this *Definition* see note on sect. 5 below.

The Creed . . . of Nicaea: the text varies in certain particulars from the original Creed of Nicaea. As here printed, additions to the original creed are placed in parentheses. Note also the following *omission* from the Chalcedonian version: after *were made*, add 'the things in heaven and the things on earth'.

The Creed of the 150 assembled at Constantinople: this is the creed described as the 'Nicaeno-Constantinopolitan', which we call 'the Nicene Creed'. The *Definition* attributes this creed to the council of Constantinople in 381, but between 381 and 451 we possess no evidence to support this attribution. The

origin of this creed has been the subject of a lengthy controversy on which see Kelly, *Creeds*, Chap.X. (See 90 above.)

But it is clear that in the *Definition* the essential norm of faith is the Creed of Nicaea, and that the council of Chalcedon regarded the creed of the 150 as added in 381 *for the taking away of the heresies then recently sprung up, and for the confirmation of our same Catholic and Apostolic faith.*

3. *Letters of the blessed Cyril*: see 219, 222 and 226 above.

Letter . . . of Leo: i.e. the *Tome* (241 above).

4. *The synod is opposed*: to Nestorius, Apollinarius, and Eutyches, whose heresies are briefly characterized.

without confusion . . . separation: ἀσυγχύτως, ἀτρέπτως, ἀδιαιρέτως, ἀχωρίστως.

concurring into one Person and one subsistence: εἰς ἓν πρόσωπον καὶ μίαν ὑπόστασιν.

the distinction . . . union: from Cyril's *Second Letter to Nestorius* (219 above).

the characteristic property, etc.: cf. Tertullian, *Adv. Praxean* 27, *adeo salva est utriusque proprietates substantiae.*

5. *it is unlawful, etc.*: this is a revised form of the 'Ephesine Decree' of 431. (See Sellers, *The Council of Chalcedon*, p. 11 and pp. 227–8.) But cf. Sellers, *op. cit.*, p. 254, 'Indeed no sooner had the bishops departed from Chalcedon, than dissentients began to give voice to their indignation', and the whole of the second chapter of Part II, *op. cit.*, 'The criticism and defence of the Chalcedonian Faith'.

247 Canons of Chalcedon, 451

Text, with commentary, in Hefele-Leclercq, II.ii, pp. 770–826; in Bright, *Canons*, pp. xxxixff

- I We have thought it right that the canons which have been issued by the holy Fathers in each synod up to the present time, should continue in force.

Yet Chalcedon found it necessary to reiterate various enactments of previous councils. The councils concerned are Nicaea, Constantinople (381), Ephesus (431), and the local Eastern councils of Ancyra, Neocaesarea, Antioch (supposedly of 341), Gangra, and Laodicea. A collection of the canons of these councils was used at Chalcedon.

- 2 If any bishop shall perform an ordination for money, and put to sale the grace which cannot be sold, and ordain for money a bishop, or chorepiscopus, or presbyter, or deacon, or any other person who is reckoned amongst the clergy; or shall promote for money a steward, or advocate, or bailiff, or any one of the Church's functionaries, for filthy lucre's sake, let him who has attempted this thing forfeit his own degree, and let him who has been ordained benefit nothing by the ordination or promotion which he has trafficked for, but let him be deprived of the dignity or charge which he obtained for money. And if

any person shall appear to have been a mediator in such filthy and unlawful transactions, let him also, if he be a cleric, be deposed from his rank, or if he be a layman or monk, let him be anathematized.

advocate: 'an official advocate or counsel for the Church' (Bright, op. cit. p. 147). Cf. can. 23 below.

bailiff: this is the probable sense: a manager of one of the Church's farms. (Bright, op. cit., p. 148).

- 3 It has come to the knowledge of the holy synod, that some of those who have been admitted into the clergy do for filthy lucre's sake become administrators of other men's possessions, and undertake the work of worldly business, neglecting the services of God, and entering into the houses of secular persons, and undertaking the management of their affairs through covetousness. The great and holy synod has therefore determined, that no one for the future, whether bishop, clerk, or monk, shall either administer possessions, or undertake matters of business, or intrude himself into worldly ministrations, unless he be called by the laws to the guardianship of minors, from which he cannot excuse himself, or the bishop of the city shall commit to him the charge of ecclesiastical business, or of orphans or widows who are not provided for, and of persons who particularly need the help of the Church, for the fear of God. But if anyone for the future shall attempt to transgress what has been determined, let him be subjected to ecclesiastical punishments.

Based on a draft of the Emperor Marcian.

On these practices, cf Jerome, *Ep.* 52.6; 60.11; 125.16, and 58 above.

There are however cases of clergy working at secular occupations from worthy motives, cf. Bright, op. cit., p. 156, who remarks, 'In short, it was not the mere fact of secular employment, but the secularity of motive and of tone which might be connected with it, that was condemned.'

- 4 Those who truly and sincerely enter upon the monastic life are to be counted worthy of suitable honour.¹ But since some availing themselves of the pretext of Monasticism, trouble both ecclesiastical and civil affairs, going about in various ways in the cities, and endeavouring also to establish monasteries for themselves, it is decreed, that no one shall anywhere build or establish a monastery or an oratory, contrary to the will of the bishop of the city. And that the monks in every city or place shall be subject to the bishop, and shall embrace quiet, and attend only to fasting and prayer, continuing in the places in which they renounced a secular life, and shall neither busy themselves in ecclesiastical or secular matters, nor take part in them, leaving their own monasteries, unless indeed they are permitted to do so for any necessary purpose by the bishop of the city. And that no

¹ Cf. 1 Tim. 5.17

servant shall be received into the monasteries contrary to the will of his own master, for the purpose of becoming a monk. But if any person transgress this our decision, we have decreed that he shall be excommunicated, *that the name of God may not be blasphemed*.¹ But the bishop of the city must have the needful care of the monasteries.

Based on a draft of the Emperor Marcian. For examples of lawlessness by monks, cf. 101, 139, above and Jerome's description in 133 above.

The disorders attendant on the case of Eutyches must have been much in the mind of the council.

no servant etc.: cf. Gangra, can. 3 (2 above) and also Basil, *Longer Rules* XI.

- 5 Concerning the bishops or clergy who pass from city to city, it is decreed that the canons which have been established by the holy Fathers respecting them shall continue in force.

Cf. Nicaea, can. 15 and can. 11 (*NER*, pp. 342, 341); also Arles, can. 2 and can. 21 (*NER*, pp. 294, 296).

- 6 No man is to be ordained without a charge (*ἀπολελυμένως*), neither presbyter, nor deacon, nor indeed anyone who is in the ecclesiastical order; but whoever is ordained must be appointed particularly to some charge in a church of a city, or in the country, or in a martyr or monastery. But as regards those who are ordained without any charge, the holy synod has determined, that such an ordination is to be held void, and cannot have any effect anywhere, to the reproach of the ordainer.

This canon served to tighten up the canons dealing with clerical discipline such as 8, 10, 13. Notable exceptions to this rule had been the ordination of Jerome, and of Paulinus of Nola.

martyr: i.e. a church or chapel containing the relics of a martyr. The council of Chalcedon met in the martyr of St Euphemia.

- 7 We have determined that those persons who have been once enrolled amongst the clergy, or who have become monks, must not enter upon any state service, or any worldly office, and that those who dare to do so, and do not repent so as to return to that state which they first chose for the sake of God shall be anathematized.

Directed against the abandonment of a clerical for a secular career.

Cf. the threat of Honorius against such persons in *Cod. Theod.* XVI.2.39.

- 8 Let the clergy of the poor-houses, monasteries, and martyries, continue under the authority of the bishops in each city, according to the tradition of the holy Fathers; and let them not arrogantly withdraw themselves from the rule of their own bishop. But those who dare to overturn this constitution in any way whatsoever, if they be clergy, let

¹ 1 Tim. 6.1

them undergo the canonical punishments, or if they be monks or layment, let them be excommunicated.

poor-houses: πτωχεῖα.

9 [See 248 below.]

- 10 No cleric may be on the list of the Church of two cities at the same time, of that in which he was first ordained, and another to which he has removed, presumably as being a greater one, from a desire to empty honour, but those persons who act thus must be restored to the Church in which they were first ordained, and there only perform divine service. But if anyone has been translated from one Church to another, he must not take any part in the affairs of his first Church, or of the martyries, or poor-houses, or receptacles for strangers belonging to it. And the holy synod has determined, that everyone, who after the decision of this great and ecumenical synod, shall do any of these things which have been forbidden, shall be deposed from his station.

Cf. can.5 above and Nicaea can. 15, and can. 16 (*NER*, p. 342).

- 11 We have determined that all the poor, and those who need help, shall after examination travel with only letters of peace from the Churches, and not with commendatory letters; because it is right that commendatory letters should be given to those persons only who are in high estimation.

letters of peace: ἐπιστόλια εἰρηνικά, a simple passport, to ensure a favourable reception from Churches wherever they went.

commendatory letters: ἐπιστόλια συστατικά.

who are in high estimation: others, for example, Hammond, op. cit., p.94, translate 'who are liable to suspicion', but the former interpretation seems more probable, i.e. in these letters something was said about the outstanding character of the bearers, cf. can.13 below.

- 12 It has come to our knowledge that some persons contrary to the laws of the Church, having had recourse to the secular powers, have by means of pragmatic orders divided one province into two, so that there are thus two metropolitans in one province. The holy synod has therefore determined that no bishop shall for the future dare to do any such thing, and that he who shall attempt such a thing shall be deposed from his own rank. Such cities however as have been already honoured with the name of Metropolis by imperial letters, and the bishop who has the charge of the Church of such a city, shall enjoy the honorary title only, the proper rights being preserved to that which is in truth the Metropolis.

pragmatic orders: i.e. *praeceptum imperatoris*, as Augustine explains the term (*Brev. Coll. cum Donatist.* III.2).

This canon deals with a practical problem that had arisen between Photius of Tyre (the recognized metropolitan) and Eustathius of Berytus, a problem settled at Chalcedon. A similar case arose between Eunomius of Nicomedia and Anastasius of Nicaea, and was also settled at this council.

- 13 Foreign clerics, and those who are unknown in another city, without commendatory letters from their own bishops, are by no means to be allowed to perform divine service.

on commendatory letters, cf. can. 11 above.

- 14 Since in some provinces it is allowed to the readers and singers to marry, the holy synod has determined, that it shall not be lawful for any of them to marry a woman of heterodox opinions. But those who have already had children from such a marriage, if their children have been previously baptized amongst heretics, must bring them over to the communion of the Catholic Church. If however they have not been baptized, they may not baptize them among heretics, nor join them in marriage to a heretic, or Jew, or heathen, unless the person who is married to the orthodox person shall promise to come over to the orthodox faith. But if anyone transgresses this decision of the holy synod, let him undergo canonical punishment.

On marriages between Christians and Jews, cf. 124 above.

readers and singers: allowed to marry by Can. Apost. 26.

- 15 A woman must not be ordained a deaconess under forty years of age, and that after a strict examination. But if after she has received ordination, and continued some time in her ministering, she shall give herself in marriage, despising the grace of God, let her be anathematized, together with him who is joined to her.

ordained: i.e. by the laying on of hands.

- 16 A virgin who has dedicated herself to the Lord God, and in like manner monks, are not permitted to contract matrimony. But if they are found to have done this, let them be excommunicated. We have determined however that the bishop of the place should have the power of dealing leniently with them.

On virgins, cf. 146 above.

- 17 [See 248 below.]

- 18 The crime of conspiracy or banding together is utterly forbidden even by the civil laws, much more then ought such a thing to be forbidden in the Church of God. If therefore any of the clergy or monks should be discovered either conspiring or banding together, or forming any evil designs against the bishops, or their fellow-clergy, let them be altogether deposed from their proper rank.

Bright, *op. cit.*, p. 202, thinks that the case of Ibas of Edessa (239 above) would

be in the minds of the council. But the happenings at the council of Ephesus in 449, when Flavian had been subject to personal attack by the Cyrilline monks, may also have been an apposite example.

- 19 It has come to our hearing that the synods of bishops which are prescribed by the canons in the provinces, do not take place; and that from this cause many of the things which are required for the right settlement of ecclesiastical matters are neglected. The holy synod has therefore determined according to the canons of the holy Fathers, that the bishops in every province shall meet together twice in every year, at the place where the bishop of the metropolis shall approve, and settle whatever matters may have arisen. And that the bishops who do not come to the meeting, residing in their own cities, and being in good health, and being free from all unavoidable and necessary business, shall be reproved in a brotherly manner.

Cf. Nicaea can. 5 (*NER*, pp. 339-40), which however envisaged the synods as being for the purpose of investigating cases of excommunication.

- 20 The clergy who minister in any Church, as we have already determined, are not to be allowed to be appointed to the Church of another city, and are to be contented with that in which they have been first counted worthy to minister, excepting those who having been obliged to leave their own country by some necessity, have passed over to another Church. But if any bishop, after this decision, shall receive a cleric belonging to another bishop, it is decreed, that both the received and the receiver shall be excommunicated, until such time as the cleric who has gone over shall return to his own Church.

to leave their own country by some necessity: as was happening constantly in this period of barbarian invasion.

- 21 Any clerics or laymen who bring charges against any bishops or clerics, are not to be received indiscriminately, and without examination, to make their accusation, but their character must first be inquired into.

Cf. can. 18 above.

- 22 The clergy may not after the death of their bishop, seize upon the goods belonging to him, as has also been forbidden by former canons, but those who do so will endanger their own rank.

Cf. *Apost. Can.* 40, which lays down that a clear distinction must be made between what belonged to a bishop and what belongs to the Church, and that his family be not injured by the loss of their private property.

- 23 It has come to the hearing of the holy synod, that certain clergy and monks who have not received any charge from their own bishop, and even at times some who have been excommunicated by him, betake themselves to the imperial city of Constantinople, and remain there a long time causing tumults, and troubling the order of the Church, and

subverting other men's houses. The holy synod has therefore determined, that such persons shall in the first instance be admonished by the advocate of the most holy Church of Constantinople, to depart out of the imperial city; but if they shall impudently continue in the same practices, they are to be cast out against their wills by the said advocate, and to return to their own places.

Constantinople was a favourite haunt of clergy who were at variance with their bishop, cf., for example, Cyril's protest to Nestorius in 219 above (22a).

advocate: cf. can. 22, above.

- 24 Monasteries which have been once consecrated with the sanction of the bishop, are to remain monasteries, and the things which belong to them are to be preserved, and they are no more to become secular dwellings. But those who suffer this to be done shall undergo the canonical punishments.

- 25 Since some metropolitans, as we have been informed, neglect the flocks committed to them, and put off the ordinations of bishops, the holy synod has decreed that the ordination of bishops shall take place within three months, unless some unavoidable necessity shall oblige the period of delay to be prolonged. But if he (i.e. the metropolitan) shall not do this, he shall undergo ecclesiastical punishment. In the meantime the revenues of the widowed Church shall be kept safely by the steward of the same Church.

In Nicaea, can. 4 the metropolitans only confirm episcopal elections in their provinces; here they are regarded as pastor of all the Churches, *the flocks committed to them*.

- 26 Since in some Churches, as we have been informed, the bishops manage the affairs of the Church without stewards, it is decreed, that any Church having a bishop, shall also have a steward out of its own clergy, who may manage the affairs of the Church with the sanction of his own bishop, to the end that the administration of the Church may not be without witnesses, and so the goods belonging to it be wasted, and reproach be brought upon the episcopate. But if the bishop do not do this, he shall undergo the sentence of the divine canons.

Cf. Gangra, can. 8 (2 above).

- 27 With respect to those persons who carry off women under the pretence of marriage, or who assist or take part with those who do carry them off, the holy synod has decreed, that if they be clergy, they shall be deposed from their rank, and if they be laymen, they shall be anathematized. (W. A. Hammond, *The Definitions of Faith*, altered.)

'This canon throws a lurid light on the recesses of a Christianized society' (Bright, *op. cit.*, p.219).

- 28 [See 248 below.]

248 The Canons of Chalcedon on the Church of Constantinople (Canons 9, 17 and 28)

Text, with commentary, in Hefele-Leclercq (see 247 above); in Bright, *Canons*, pp. XLI, XLIV, XLVII

For an extensive commentary see Bright, *op. cit.*, ad loc.

- 9 If any cleric has a suit against another cleric, let him not leave his own bishop, nor have recourse to the secular courts of justice, but let him first try the question before his own bishop, or, with the consent of the bishop himself, before those persons whom both parties shall choose to have the hearing of the cause. And if any person shall act contrary to these decrees, let him undergo the canonical punishments.

But if a cleric has any matter either against his own or any other bishop, let him be judged by the synod of the province.

But if any bishop or cleric has a controversy against the metropolitan of the same province, let him have recourse to the exarch of the diocese, or to the Throne of the imperial city of Constantinople, and plead his cause before him.

The whole problem goes back to 1 Cor. 6.1, but is here limited to suits between clergy.

exarch of the diocese: i.e. to the chief bishop of the Churches of several provinces, among which there would be metropolitan sees, 'but an alternative is proposed, and it is a momentous one' (Bright, *op. cit.*, p. 179); the complainant may take his case direct to the Bishop of Constantinople; it is quite clear that the canon is not intended to apply to Rome or to the West, but with the power of judgement given in this canon to Constantinople, cf. the lesser privilege given to Rome at Sardica, can. 3, 3B,6 (9 above).

- 17 The rural and country parishes attached to each several Church must continue without disturbance under the bishops who have had possession of them, particularly if they have had them under their management for the space of thirty years without dispute. If however there has been or shall be any dispute respecting them within the thirty years, it is allowed to those who say that they are injured to move the question respecting these things before the synod of the province.

But if anyone is wronged by his metropolitan, he is to be judged by the exarch of the diocese, or by the Throne of Constantinople, as has before been said.

If however any city has been newly erected by royal authority, or shall hereafter be erected, let the order of the ecclesiastical parishes follow the political and public forms.

If any city has been erected by royal authority: for an example of this, cf. the anxiety of Basil of Caesarea about the claims of the bishop of Tyana. (See, for example, *DCB*, s.v. Basil, pp. 290-91.) In the fourth century the secular importance of cities like Arles and Trier led to alterations in the relative power

of these sees. The position was acute with regard to Constantinople, as can be seen from canon 28.

- 28 We, following in all things the decisions of the holy Fathers, and acknowledging the canon of the 150 most religious bishops which has just been read, do also determine and decree the same things respecting the privileges of the most holy Church of Constantinople, New Rome. For the Fathers properly gave the primacy to the Throne of the elder Rome, because that was the imperial city. And the 150 most religious bishops, being moved with the same intention, gave equal privileges to the most holy Throne of New Rome, judging with reason, that the city which was honoured with the sovereignty and senate, and which enjoyed equal privileges with the elder royal Rome, should also be magnified like her in ecclesiastical matters, being the second after her.

And we also decree that the metropolitans only of the Pontic, and Asian, and Thracian dioceses, and moreover the bishops of the aforesaid dioceses who are amongst the Barbarians, shall be ordained by the above-mentioned most holy Throne of the most holy Church of Constantinople; each metropolitan of the aforesaid dioceses ordaining the bishops of the province, as has been declared by the divine canons; but the metropolitans themselves of the said dioceses, shall, as has been said, be ordained by the Bishop of Constantinople, the proper elections being made according to custom, and reported to him. (W. A. Hammond, *The Definitions of Faith*, altered.)

which has just been read: i.e. canon 3 of Constantinople (91 above). Now, however, the words 'of honour' are omitted, and Constantinople is given a wide ecclesiastical jurisdiction. As far as canon 28 goes this is based entirely on political considerations with regard to both Rome and New Rome. Yet the council was not unmindful of the apostolic foundation of the Roman Church, as Giles points out (*Documents*, p. 318, cf. p. 322, 'You are set as an interpreter to all of the voice of blessed Peter' (Letter to Leo, 249 below)).

metropolitans . . . holy Church of Constantinople: bishops of Constantinople, which was originally dependent on Heraclea, had already interfered vigorously in the affairs of the Churches in Asia, for example, Chrysostom in 205 above, and Nestorius in 215 above.

249 Letter of the Council of Chalcedon to Leo

Leo. *Ep.* XCVIII.1,2,4

Controversy about canon 28 began immediately, and various letters were sent to and from the parties involved. The council, the Emperor, and Anatolius of Constantinople were all anxious to secure Leo's adhesion to it.

- 1 [Leo is the interpreter to all of the voice of Peter, and has been the guide of the council].

And we were all delighted, as at an imperial banquet, revelling in the spiritual food, which Christ supplied to his invited guests through your letter: and we seemed to see the heavenly Bridegroom actually present with us. For if *where two or three are gathered together in his name*, he has said that *there he is in the midst of them*,¹ must he not have been much more particularly present with 520 priests, who preferred the spread of knowledge concerning him to their country and their ease? Of whom you were chief, as the head to the members, showing your goodwill in the person of those who represented you; whilst our religious Emperors presided to the furtherance of due order, inviting us to restore the doctrinal fabric of the Church, even as Zerubbabel invited Joshua to rebuild Jerusalem.²

2 [The conduct of Dioscorus in acquitting Eutyches is like that of a wild beast uprooting a vine. He deposed true bishops and did not scruple to attack Leo himself] . . .

4 And we further inform you that we have decided on other things also for the good management and stability of Church matters, being persuaded that your Holiness will accept and ratify them, when you are told what they are. The long-prevailing custom, which the holy Church of God at Constantinople had of ordaining metropolitans for the provinces of Asia, Pontus, and Thrace, we have now ratified by the votes of the synod, not so much by way of conferring a privilege on the see of Constantinople as to provide for the good government of those metropolitan sees, because of the frequent disorders that arise on the death of their bishops, both clergy and laity who dwell there being then without a leader and disturbing the order of the Church. And this has not escaped your Holiness, particularly in the case of Ephesus, which has often caused you annoyance. We have ratified also the canon of the 150 holy Fathers who met at Constantinople in the time of the great Theodosius of holy memory, which ordained that after your most holy and Apostolic See, the See of Constantinople shall take precedence, being placed second: for we are persuaded that with your usual care for others you have often extended that apostolic radiance that is yours to the Church in Constantinople also, by virtue of your great generosity in sharing your own peculiar prestige with your spiritual kinsfolk. Accordingly vouchsafe, most holy and blessed father, to accept as your own wish, and as conducing to good government the things which we have resolved on for the removal of all confusion and the confirmation of good order in the Church. For your Holiness's delegates, the most pious bishops Paschasinus and Lucentius, and with them the right godly presbyter Boniface, attempted vehemently to resist these decisions, from a strong desire that this good work also should start from your foresight, in order that the establishment of

¹ Matt. 18.20

² Ezra 3.2

good order as well as of the Faith should be put to your account. For we duly regarding our most devout and Christ-loving Emperors, who delight in this proposal, and the illustrious senate and, so to say, the whole imperial city, considered it opportune to use the meeting of this ecumenical synod for the ratification of this honour, and we confidently corroborated this decision as if it were initiated by your Holiness with your customary fostering zeal, knowing that every success of the children rebounds to the parent's glory. Accordingly, we entreat you, honour our decision by your assent, and as we have yielded to the head our agreement on things honourable, so may the head also fulfil for the children what is fitting. For thus will our pious Emperors be treated with due regard, who have ratified your Holiness's judgement as law, and the See of Constantinople will receive its recompense for having always displayed such loyalty on matters of religion towards you, and for having so zealously linked itself to you in full agreement. But that you may know that we have done nothing for favour or in hatred, but as being guided by the divine will, we have made known to you the whole scope of our proceedings to strengthen our position and to ratify and establish what we have done. (NPNF, altered.)

4. *Ephesus*: cf. 205 above.

attempted vehemently to resist these decisions: i.e. because the initiative should come from Leo. When Anatolius wrote to Leo about this canon (Leo, *Ep.* CI) he made out that the papal legates lacked instructions on Leo's attitude to the Church of Constantinople.

250 An End to Controversy, 7 February 452

Edict of the Emperor Marcian: text in *ACO*, II.ii.2.8, pp. 21–2

At last that which we wished, with earnest prayer and desire, has come to pass. Controversy about the orthodox religion (*lex*) of Christians has been put away; remedies at length have been found for culpable error, and diversity of opinion among the peoples has issued in common consent and concord. From the different provinces the most religious bishops came to Chalcedon in accordance with our commands, and have taught by clear definition what ought to be observed in the matter of religion. Therefore, let profane wrangling cease! He is a truly impious and sacrilegious person who, after the sentence of so many bishops, reserves anything to be decided by his own opinion. It is the mark of utter madness to search, in the full light of noon day, for counterfeit illumination. For whoever, after this finding of the truth, enter upon any further debate, searches for falsehood. No one, therefore, whether cleric, or official, or of any other estate whatsoever, shall henceforth collect a crowd of listeners and publicly try to discuss

the Christian faith, devising occasion of riot and treachery thereby. A man does despite to the judgement of the most religious council if he attempts to go over again in public disputation what has been judged and rightly decided; since it is acknowledged that what has now been concluded about the Christian faith, in accordance with Apostolic expositions and the decrees of the 318 (at Nicaea), and the 150 (at Constantinople), has been finally determined. Those who despise this enactment will not go unpunished—since they not only assail the faith that has been well set forth, but, by such controversy, profane the venerable mysteries in the ears of Jews and pagans. Wherefore if any cleric venture to deal with religion in public, he shall be removed from the list of the clergy; if any official does so, he shall lose his appointment; while others guilty of this offence shall be banished from this imperial (*sanctissima*) city; and all shall be rendered liable to the appropriate penalties by the bench of judges. For it is agreed that public disputations and debates are the origin and tinder that sets alight heretical madness. All, therefore, shall be bound to hold to the decisions of the sacred council of Chalcedon, and to indulge no further doubts. Take heed, therefore, to this edict of our Serenity, and abstain from profane words, and cease all further discussion of religion, which is forbidden. This sin, as we believe, will be punished by the judgement of God; but it will also be restrained by the authority of the laws and the judges. Given at Constantinople on the seventh of February. (Kidd, *Documents*, II, pp. 301–2, altered.)

Issued by Marcian at Constantinople.

after the sentence of so many bishops: cf. Constantine on the council of Nicaea (Socrates, *HE*, I.9.24, *NER* 293).

No one, therefore, whether cleric etc.: as Kidd, *Documents*, II, p. 302n points out, this edict is quoted from this point in the representations of Cardinal Campeggio at the Diet of Augsburg in 1530 (Kidd, *Documents of the Continental Reformation*, No. 117).

cease all further discussion of religion: 'But, as is well known, the doctrinal decisions of the council of Chalcedon were stubbornly resisted, and the result was, not as Marcian had hoped, the peace of the Church in the East, but the grievous schism, which remains unhealed to this day' (R.V. Sellers, *The Council of Chalcedon*, p. 128).

251 Leo Annuls Canon 28 of Chalcedon, 22 May 452

Leo, *Ep.* CV. 2–3, to the Empress Pulcheria

Leo wrote to Marcian, Pulcheria, and Anatolius. He writes very firmly about the claims of Constantinople, and blames the 'obnoxious greediness' of Anatolius (to Marcian, *Ep.* CIV). To Anatolius (*EP.* CVI) he is only concerned

with the relegation of Antioch and Alexandria, both in some sense Petrine Churches, to a position below that of Constantinople. From Leo's viewpoint the issue is summed up in a sentence of his letter to Marcian (sect.3) 'Let him (Anatolius) not disdain a royal city, though he cannot make it an apostolic see'. Alexandria could not lose its precedence because of the misdeeds of Dioscorus. But Leo's annulment of canon 28 had no effect.

- 2 For my brother and fellow-bishop Anatolius, not sufficiently considering your Piety's kindness and the favour of my assent, whereby he gained the episcopal title of the Church of Constantinople, instead of rejoicing at what he has gained, has been inflamed with undue desires beyond the measure of his rank, believing that his intemperate self-seeking could be advanced by the assertion that certain persons had signified their assent thereto by an extorted signature; notwithstanding that my brethren and fellow-bishops, who represented me, faithfully and laudably expressed their dissent from these attempts which are doomed to speedy failure. For no one may venture upon anything in opposition to the enactments of the Fathers' canons which many long years ago in the city of Nicaea were founded upon the decrees of the Spirit, so that anyone who wishes to pass any different decree injures himself rather than impairs them. And if all bishops (*pontifices*) will but keep them inviolate as they should, there will be perfect peace and complete harmony through all the Churches: there will be no disagreements about rank, no disputes about ordinations, no controversies about privileges, no strifes about taking that which is another's; but by the fair law of love a reasonable order will be kept both of conduct and of office, and he will be truly great who is found free from all self-seeking, as the LORD says, *Whosoever will become greater among you, let him be your minister, and whosoever will be first among you shall be your slave; even as the Son of Man came not to be ministered unto but to minister.*¹ And yet these precepts were at the time given to men who wished to rise from a mean estate and to pass from the lowest to the highest things; but what more does the ruler of the Church of Constantinople covet than he has gained? or what will satisfy him, if the magnificence and renown of so great a city is not enough? It is too arrogant and intemperate thus to step beyond one's proper bounds and, trampling on ancient custom, to wish to seize another's right: to increase one man's dignity at the expense of so many metropolitans' primacy, and to carry a new war of confusion into peaceful provinces which were long ago set at rest by the enactments of the holy Nicene synod: to break through the venerable Fathers' decrees by alleging the consent of certain bishops, which the course of so many years has rendered ineffective. For it is boasted that this has been winked at for almost sixty years now, and the said bishop thinks

¹ Matt. 20.26-8; Mark 10.43-5

that he is assisted by this boast; but it is vain for him to look for assistance from that which, even if a man dared to wish for it, yet he could never obtain.

- 3 Let him realize what a man he has succeeded, and expelling all the spirit of pride let him imitate Flavian's faith, Flavian's modesty, Flavian's humility, which has raised him even to a confessor's glory. If he will shine with his virtues, he will merit all praise, and in all quarters he will win an abundance of love not by seeking human advancement but by deserving Divine favour. And by this careful course I promise he will bind my heart also to him, and the love of the Apostolic See, which we have ever bestowed on the Church of Constantinople, shall never be violated by any wind of change. Because if sometimes rulers fall into errors through want of moderation, yet the Churches of Christ do not lose their purity. But bishops' assents, which are opposed to the regulations of the holy canons composed at Nicaea in conjunction with your faithful Piety, we do not recognize, and by the blessed Apostle Peter's authority we absolutely disannul in comprehensive terms, in all ecclesiastical cases obeying those laws which the Holy Ghost set forth by the 318 bishops for the pacific observance of all bishops in such a way that even if a much greater number were to pass a different decree to theirs, whatever was opposed to their regulations must be held in no respect. (NPNF, altered.)

2. *the favour of my assent*: Anatolius had been of the party of Dioscorus, and Leo could not assent to his election until Anatolius had satisfied him of his orthodoxy, which he did after the death of Theodosius II.

about sixty years: cf. Leo to Anatolius, *Ep.* CVI.5, 'Your purpose is in no way supported by the writing of certain bishops, given, as you allege, sixty years ago and never brought to the knowledge of the Apostolic See by your predecessors' (NPNF).

3. *the holy canons composed at Nicaea*: in which there could be no mention of the Church of Constantinople.

252 Leo Explains the Doctrine of the *Tome*

Leo, *Ep.* CXXIV.6

Although from that beginning whereby 'the Word was made flesh' in the Virgin's womb, no division ever existed between the divine and the human substance, and through all the bodily growth the actions were of one Person all the time, yet we do not by any mixture confound these very things which were done inseparably; but we perceive from the character of the acts what belongs to either form. For neither do the divine acts damage the validity of the human, nor the human acts that of the divine, since both so concur, and that for this very purpose, that between them neither is the property absorbed nor the Person doubled. (Sellers, *The Council of Chalcedon*, p. 249).

This passage is included here as a reminder that, while the decision reached at Chalcedon became normative for the West it met with much criticism in the East. Leo is writing to the monks of Palestine, and earlier in the letter protests against the ignorance or maliciousness of those who translated his communications into Greek.

Proterius, Patriarch of Alexandria, successor of Dioscorus and a supporter of Chalcedon, was murdered by a mob on 28 March 457. See Evagrius, *HE*, 11.8.

property, i.e. *proprietas*, 'distinctive-character' as in the *Tome* ch. 2 (241 above).

27. *The Church and the Fall of the Empire in the West, 427–55*

253 Augustine and the Uprising of North African Tribes, c. 427

Augustine, *Ep.* CCXX.7, to Count Boniface

But what shall I say of the devastation of Africa at this hour by hordes of African barbarians, to whom no resistance is offered, while you are engrossed with such embarrassments in your own circumstances, and are taking no measures for averting this calamity? Who would ever have believed, who would have feared, after Boniface had become a Count of the Empire and of Africa, and had been placed in command in Africa with so large an army and so great authority, that the same man who formerly, as Tribune, kept all these barbarous tribes in peace, by storming their strongholds, and menacing them with his small band of brave confederates, should now have suffered the barbarians to be so bold, to encroach so far, to destroy and plunder so much, and to turn into deserts such vast regions once densely peopled? Where were any found who did not predict that, as soon as you obtained the authority of Count, the African hordes would be not only checked, but made tributaries to the Roman Empire? And now, how completely the event has disappointed men's hopes you yourself perceive; in fact, I need say nothing more on this subject, because your own reflection must suggest much more than I can put in words. (Tr. J. G. Cunningham, *Letters of St Augustine*, II, Edinburgh 1875.)

The collapse of Roman and Catholic North Africa begins with the uprising of native tribes, whether within or without the *limes* cannot be certain. The process was aided by the continuance of Circumcellion activity (see 176 above) and Possidius, *Vita Augustini*, 23, and 15 above, written c. 435.

254 The Problem of Flight in face of Barbarian Incursions, 428 or 429

Augustine, *Ep.* CCXXVIII, 4, 5 and 14 to Bishop Honoratus

- 4 For this reason, the saying which we have heard attributed to a certain bishop, namely: 'If the Lord has commanded us to flee, in those persecutions in which we may reap the fruit of martyrdom, how much more ought we to escape by flight, if we can, from barren sufferings

inflicted by the hostile incursions of barbarians!' is a saying true and worthy of acceptance, but applicable only to those who are not confined by the obligations of ecclesiastical office. For the man who, having it in his power to escape from the violence of the enemy, chooses not to flee from it, lest in so doing he should abandon the ministry of Christ, without which men can neither become Christians nor live as such, assuredly finds a greater reward of his love, than the man who, fleeing not for his brethren's sake but for his own, is seized by persecutors, and, refusing to deny Christ, suffers martyrdom.

- 5 What, then, shall we say to the position which you thus state in your former epistle: 'I do not see what good we can do to ourselves or to the people by continuing to remain in the churches, except to see before our eyes men slain, women outraged, churches burned, ourselves expiring amid torments applied in order to extort from us what we do not possess'? God is powerful to hear the prayers of his children, and to avert those things which they fear; and we ought not, on account of evils that are uncertain, to make up our minds absolutely to the desertion of that ministry, without which the people must certainly suffer ruin, not in the affairs of this life, but of that other life which ought to be cared for with incomparably greater diligence and solicitude. For if those evils which are apprehended, as possibly visiting the places in which we are, were certain, all those for whose sake it was our duty to remain would take flight before us, and would thus exempt us from the necessity of remaining; for no one says that ministers are under obligation to remain in any place where none remain to whom their ministry is necessary. In this way some holy bishops fled from Spain when their congregations had, before their flight, been annihilated, the members having either fled, or died by the sword, or perished in the siege of their towns, or gone into captivity; but many more of the bishops of that country remained in the midst of these abounding dangers, because those for whose sakes they remained were still remaining there. And if some have abandoned their flocks, this is what we say ought not to be done, for they were not taught to do so by divine authority, but were, through human infirmity, either deceived by an error or overcome by fear.

- 6-13 [Augustine argues the case for and against flight, alluding to the actions of Athanasius who fled rather than be taken at the orders of the Emperor Constantius. Except if a congregation were to become totally destitute of clergy, flight from calamity was justified.]

- 14 Whoever, therefore, flees from danger in circumstances in which the Church is not deprived, through his flight, of necessary service, is doing that which the Lord has commanded or permitted. But the minister who flees when the consequence of his flight is the withdrawal from Christ's flock of that nourishment by which its spiritual life is sustained, is an *'hireling who seeth the wolf coming, and fleeth because he*

*careth not for the sheep.*¹ (Tr. J. G. Cunningham, op. cit., II, Edinburgh 1875.)

Augustine is writing to Honoratus, Bishop of Thiava in Mauretania, who was not satisfied with the advice Augustine had given to Bishop Quodvultdeus in a letter (not extant) of which he had been sent a copy. The context does not make clear whether the barbarians are African tribesmen or the Vandals who landed in Mauretania in the spring of 429.

255 Salvian: Roman and Barbarian in Gaul, c. 440

Salvian, *De Gubernatione Dei*, V.4

But as for the way of life among the Goths and Vandals, in what single respect can we consider ourselves superior to them, or even worthy of comparison? Let me speak first of their affection and charity, which the Lord teaches us are the chief of virtues, and which he commends not only through the Sacred Scriptures but also in his own words, when he says: '*By this shall all men know that ye are my disciples, if ye love one another*'² Now almost all barbarians, at least those who belong to one tribe, under one king's rule, love one another, whereas almost all the Romans are at strife with one another. What citizen is there who does not envy his fellows? Who shows complete charity to his neighbours? All are indeed far from their neighbours in affection, however near in place; though living side by side, they are far apart in spirit. While this is a most grievous wrong, I wish it were true only of citizens and neighbours. But the situation is still more serious, for not even relations preserve the bonds of kinship. Who renders a brotherly service for his next of kin? Who pays to family affection the debt he knows is due to the name he bears? Who is as closely related by his affections as by blood? Who is not fired with a dark passion of ill will? Whose emotions are not the prey of envy? Who does not look on another's good fortune as his own punishment? Who does not reckon another's good as his own evil? Who finds his own good fortune so ample that he is willing that another should be fortunate also? Most men are now suffering a strange and incalculable evil, in that it is not enough for any man to be happy himself unless another is thereby made wretched. What a situation is this, how savage, how rooted in the same impiety we deplore, how alien to barbarians and familiar to Romans, that they proscribe one another by mutual exactions. My last words, perhaps, give a wrong impression, for it would be much more tolerable if each man endured what he himself had inflicted on others. The present situation is harder to bear, for the many are proscribed by

¹ John 10.12–13

² John 13.35

the few, who use the public levies for their individual gain, and convert the bills of indebtedness to the public treasury to their private profit. Nor is it only the highest officials who do this, but the least too in almost equal measure; not only the judges, but their obedient underlings as well.

For what cities are there, or even what municipalities and villages, in which there are not as many tyrants as curials? Still perhaps they preen themselves on their title, since it seems to be one of power and honour. Brigands usually rejoice and exult at being considered somewhat more ruthless than they really are. What place is there, as I said before, where the very lifeblood of widows and orphans is not drained by the leading men of their states, and with them that of all godly men? (Tr. Sandford, *On the Government of God*, pp. 138–9.)

public levies for . . . private profit: for the efforts of the state to prevent such injustice, cf. especially *Cod. Theod.* XI.1.20, 26.

obedient underlings: see *Cod. Theod.* XI.7.16, 20; II.1, for the penalties for undue aggression by minor officials.

as many tyrants as curials: For the reverse of the picture, note the text of the contemporary decree of Theodosius and Valentinian issued AD 443 (*Cod. Just.*, V.27.2) beginning: 'If any man whether free or bound in the toils of the curia . . .' In his own eyes the curial had become a slave rather than a tyrant, and in those of the government as well, but the necessity of tyranny toward the taxpayers was thereby increased. For the obligations of the office and the difficulty of filling it at this time, see *Cod. Theod.* XII.1, *De decurionibus*.

256 Salvian: Agrarian Discontent; the Bagaudae, c. 440

Salvian, *De Gub. Dei*, V.5–6

- 5 Although these men differ in customs and language from those with whom they have taken refuge, and are unaccustomed too, if I may say so, to the nauseous odour of the bodies and clothing of the barbarians, yet they prefer the strange life they find there to the injustice rife among the Romans. So you find men passing over everywhere, now to the Goths, now to the Bagaudae, or whatever other barbarians have established their power anywhere, and they do not repent of their expatriation, for they would rather live as free men, though in seeming captivity, than as captives in seeming liberty. Hence the name of Roman citizen, once not only much valued but dearly bought, is now voluntarily repudiated and shunned, and is thought not merely valueless, but even almost abhorrent. What can be a greater proof of Roman injustice than that many worthy noblemen to whom their Roman status should have been the greatest source of fame and honour, have nevertheless been driven so far by the cruelty of Roman injustice that they no longer wish to be Romans?

The result is that even those who do not take refuge with the barbarians are yet compelled to be barbarians themselves; for this is the case with the greater part of the Spaniards, no small proportion of the Gauls, and, in fine, all those throughout the Roman world whose Roman citizenship has been brought to nothing by Roman extortion.

6 I must now speak of the *Bagaudae*, who, despoiled, afflicted, and murdered by wicked and bloodthirsty magistrates, after they had lost the rights of Roman citizens, forfeited also the honour of the Roman name. We transform their misfortunes into crime, we brand them with a name that recalls their losses, with a name that we ourselves have contrived for their shame! We call those men rebels and utterly abandoned, whom we ourselves have forced into crime. For by what other causes were they made *Bagaudae* save by our unjust acts, the wicked decisions of the magistrates, the proscription and extortion of those who have turned the public exactions to the increase of their private fortunes and made the tax indictments their opportunity for plunder? (Tr. Sandford, op. cit., pp. 142–3.)

5. *these men*: i.e. provincials fleeing Roman administrative oppression.

nauseous odour: similar distaste is expressed by Sidonius (*Carmen* XII) in his description of the difficulties of composing six-foot verses when seven-foot barbarians breathe onions and garlic into your face at daybreak.

or other barbarians: Strictly speaking the *Bagaudae* were not barbarians, but revolted peasants from among the Roman citizenry, whose long-continued revolts had invested them in Roman eyes with a quasi-barbarian character; for the other barbarians note that in VII.15 the Franks are described as especially hospitable.

dearly bought: So the tribune of the soldiers at Jerusalem said to Paul: '*With a great price obtained I this freedom*,'¹ i.e. Roman citizenship.

the Bagaudae: The revolt of the *Bagaudae* first broke out in Gaul in AD 283–4 because of oppression in that province, due especially to overheavy taxation. In some ways the *Bagaudae* can be compared to the North African Circumcellions (see 15 and 176 above), but they had no religious basis so far as is known. The last mention of the *Bagaudae* in the Chronicle of Idatius is in the year AD 449, and the movement seems to have come to an end not long after this. For the contemporary references, of which Salvian's account is the most detailed, cf. Seeck, s.v. '*Bagaudae*,' in Pauly-Wissowa, *Real-Encyclopädie*.

forced into crime: That a man should not be held responsible for a crime committed under compulsion is recognized by a decree of Honorius and Theodosius in AD 416 (*Cod Theod.*, XV.14.14) prohibiting suits for crimes committed during the barbarian raids, 'either through flight or through the herding together of refugees . . . for an act done to escape death is not considered a crime'

made Bagaudae: Salvian uses the term *Bagaudae*, apparently a word of Celtic origin, for which Seeck suggests the meaning 'warlike,' as equivalent to 'outlawed rebels'.

¹ Acts 22.28

257 Breakdown of Morale

Salvian, *De Gub. Dei*, VI.13

These places, however, are far away, almost removed to another world, and seem irrelevant to the discussion when I consider that even in my own country, in the Gallic states, almost all men of high degree have been made worse by their misfortunes. I myself have seen men of lofty birth and honour, though already despoiled and plundered, still less ruined in fortunes than in morality; for, ravaged and stripped though they were, something still remained to them of their property, but nothing of their character. They were so much more hostile to themselves than to alien enemies that, though they had already been ruined by the barbarians, they now completed their own destruction. It is sad to tell what we saw there; honoured old men, feeble Christians, when the ruin of their state was already imminent, making themselves slaves to appetite and lust. What are the first grounds of accusation? That they were honoured, old, Christians, or in danger? Who would deem it possible that such things should be done by old men even in utter security, or by boys in a crisis, or at any time whatever by Christians? They reclined at feasts, forgetful of their honour, forgetting justice, forgetting their faith and the name they bore. There were the leaders of the state, gorged with food, dissolute from winebibbing, wild with shouting, giddy with revelry, completely out of their senses, or rather, since this was their usual condition, precisely in their senses. In spite of all this, what I have next to say is still worse: not even the destruction of their towns put an end to their excesses. The wealthiest city of Gaul was taken by storm no less than four times. It is easy to recognize the city of which I speak. The first captivity should surely have sufficed to mend the ways of the citizens, so that the renewal of their sins would not have renewed the destruction. But what followed? The tale is incredible. The constant repetition of misfortunes in that city increased its crimes. (Tr. Sandford, *op. cit.*, pp.179–80.)

The account would seem seriously exaggerated if Salvian did not claim to have witnessed these events himself.

the wealthiest city: probably Trier, though Salvian is sparing in his identification. Trier was the capital of the Prefecture of the Gauls.

258 Leo I: Bishop of Rome, as Ambassador to Attila, 452

Prosper, *Epitoma Chronicon*, ad ann. 452

In AD 451 Attila the Hun had been defeated in Gaul by the Patrician Aëtius.

After repairing his damaged strength he determined to attack Italy, but Aëtius 'seems to have lacked the power or possibly the inclination to intercept the invader' (Jalland, *St Leo the Great*, p. 55).

No better plan presented itself to the Emperor, Senate, and People, than to send an embassy to seek peace with the savage king. With Avienus, a man of consular rank, and Trigetius, praetorian prefect, Leo the Pope, relying on God's help, which he knew had never failed to aid the actions of the faithful, undertook this task. The anticipation of his faith was fully justified. The whole embassy was received with honour, and the king so pleased at the presence of the chief Christian priest, that he gave orders to desist from the war, and, with a promise of peace, departed across the Danube.

the king was so pleased, etc.: other reasons may have actuated Attila, see, for example, Jalland, *op. cit.*, p. 413. The scene of Leo's meeting with Attila is depicted on a relief on the Pope's tomb in St Peter's.

259 The Vandals Capture Rome, 455

Prosper, *Epitoma Chronicon*, ad ann. 455

After the death of Maximus, there followed immediately the captivity of the Romans, a thing worthy of many tears. The city was left undefended, and Gaiseric got possession of it. The holy Bishop Leo went to meet him outside the gates, and his prayers, by God's help, so softened him that, though all was in his power, as the city had been handed over to him, he refrained from fire and slaughter and punishment. So for fourteen days they were free and at liberty to search. They spoiled Rome of all its wealth; and many thousand captives, according as age or beauty took their fancy, they carried off to Carthage, including the Empress and her daughters. (Kidd, *Documents*, II, pp. 303–4)

Maximus: Petronius Maximus, who murdered Valentinian III.

Gaiseric: the Vandal leader, who had been in possession of Africa from 429,

the Empress: Eudoxia, widow of Valentinian III, who had been compelled to become the wife of Maximus.

260 Deogratias, Bishop of Carthage, Ransoms Captives brought from Rome by the Vandals

Victor of Vita, *Historia persecutionis Africae provinciae*, I.24–6

- 24 After this it came to pass that, at the request of the Emperor Valentinian, after a long, silent, and desolate interval, a bishop of the

name of Deogratias was ordained for the church of Carthage. If anyone were to try bit by bit to enumerate the things that the Lord did by him, words would fail him before he could tell anything. No sooner had he been made bishop than, since our sins demanded it, Gaiseric, in the fifteenth year of his reign, captured Rome, that once noble and famous city; and, at the same time, brought captive from thence the riches of many kings, with their peoples.

25 When the multitude of captives reached the shores of Africa, the Vandals and Moors divided up the vast crowds of people; and, as is the way with barbarians, separated husbands from wives and children from parents. Immediately that man, so full of God and so dear to him, set about to sell all the gold and silver vessels of service, and set them free from enslavement to the barbarians, in order that marriage might remain unbroken and children be restored to their parents. And since there were no places big enough to accommodate so large a multitude, he assigned two famous churches, the *Basilica Fausti* and the *Basilica Novarum*, furnishing them with beds and bedding, and arranging day by day how much each person should receive in proportion to his need.

26 And since many were in distress owing to their inexperience of a voyage by sea and to the cruelty of captivity, there was no small number of sick people among them. Like a devoted nurse, that saintly bishop went the round of them constantly with doctors and food; so that the condition of each was looked into, and every man's need supplied, in his presence. Not even at night did he take a rest from this work of mercy; but he kept on going from bed to bed, in his anxiety to know how each was doing. In fact, he gave himself up to the task so entirely as to spare neither his wearied limbs nor the weakness of his old age. (Kidd, *Documents*, II, pp. 323-4.)

The Vandals were established in Africa from 429, and entered Carthage in 439.

24. *Deogratias*: bishop from 454 to 457. The Emperor had secured his election in one of the intervals in which there appeared to be some mitigation of the ferocity of the Vandal conquerors.

captured Rome, as related in 259 above.

26. *The weakness etc.*: lit. his dried-up old age (*cariosa senectus*, cf. Ovid, *Amores*, I, 12.28).

28 Christianity in Britain and Ireland, 400–461

261 Ninian and the Church at Whithorn in Galloway, c. 400

Bede, *Historia Ecclesiastica Gentis Anglorum*, III.4

For these same southern Picts who have their dwelling-places inside of the same mountains, had as they say, long before abandoned the error of idolatry and received the true faith, at what time the word was preached unto them by the most reverend bishop and holy man Ninian (Nynia), a Briton born, who had been fully taught at Rome according to rule the faith of the mysteries of the truth; whose episcopal see, made notable for the name and church of the holy bishop Martin (where Ninian himself rests in the body along together with many holy men), the English nation holds at this very time. This place, appertaining to the Bernicians' province, is commonly called At White Building, because he built there a church of stone, after another fashion than the Britons were wont to build. (J. E. King, *Baedae Opera Historica* (Loeb), I, p. 341, altered.)

This passage from Bede is the earliest literary evidence for Ninian. When Bede finished his history in 731, Whithorn was under Northumbria and had an English bishop, Pecthelm. He is elsewhere quoted as a source by Bede (*HE*, V.13, 18) and perhaps gave him this information about the founder of Whithorn. (On Whithorn and the problems associated with Ninian see *Transactions of the Dumfriesshire and Galloway Natural History and Antiquarian Society*, 3rd Series, vol. XXVII (1948–9) (Whithorn Volume).)

as they say (ut perhibent): 'He (Bede) is alluding as usual to hearsay' (Levison, 'An eighth-century poem on St Ninian' (*Antiquity*, XIV (1940), p. 289).

This place (locus): N. K. Chadwick in *Transactions etc.* (above), p. 10 points out that *locus* is 'at this period regularly used of a monastery'.

At White Building (ad Candidam Casam): But the episcopal see of Ninian does not necessarily lie in the area in which Bede says that he taught. When Kentigern came to Glasgow he found (according to Jocelyn's *Life of Kentigern* (12th cent.)) 'a certain cemetery formerly consecrated by St Ninian' (cf. Raleigh Radford in *Transactions*, p. 94), and the *southern Picts* probably lived in Perth and Angus.

a church of stone: 'it is interesting to reflect that it is in connection with the cult of St Martin that the building of stone churches seems to have taken its rise in Gaul' (Chadwick, *Transactions, etc.*, p. 17).

'A church of stone in this connection must mean a plastered or lime-washed building' (Raleigh Radford, *Transactions, etc.*, p. 119, cf. p. 115).

262 Pelagianism in Britain, c. 430

Prosper, *Liber contra Collatorem*, 21.2 (PL, LI.271)

And with no less active care he (Coelestine) freed the Britains from this same disease, for he shut off from that retreat of the ocean certain enemies of God's grace who were occupying the soil of their birth. And whilst he sought to keep the Roman island catholic, he made also the barbarous island Christian, by ordaining a bishop for the Scots. (Giles, *Documents*, p. 263, slightly altered.)

he freed the Britains: by sending Germanus of Auxerre, cf. Prosper, *Chronicle* ad ann. 429 (PL, LI.594-5).

the Roman island: Britain.

the barbarous island: Ireland. This mission to Ireland is mentioned again in Prosper's *Chronicle*, ad. ann. 431 (PL LI.595), 'To the Irish (i.e. Scots) believing in Christ Palladius is ordained by Pope Coelestine as their first bishop'.

263 The 'Confession' of Patrick, c. 450

Patrick, *Confessio*, 1-2, 16-17, 23, 26-7, 41-2, 50-3; text in L. Bieler, *Libri Epistolarum Sancti Patricii Episcopi* (Dublin, 1952), pp. 56-91

- 1 I, Patrick the sinner, the most illiterate and the least of all the faithful, and contemptible in the eyes of very many, had for father Calpornius, a deacon, a son of Potitus, a presbyter, who belonged to the village of Bannavem Taberniae. Now he had a small farm hard by, and there I was taken captive.
- I was then about sixteen years of age. I did not know the true God; and I went into captivity to Ireland with many thousands of persons, according to our deserts, because we *departed away from God*,¹ and *kept not his commandments*,² and were not obedient to our priests, who used to admonish us for our salvation. And the Lord *poured upon us the fury of his anger*,³ and *scattered us among many heathen*,⁴ even *unto the ends of the earth*,⁵ where now my littleness may be seen among strangers.
- 2 And there the Lord *opened the understanding*⁶ of my unbelief that, even though late, I might call my faults to remembrance, and that I might *turn with all my heart*⁷ to the Lord my God, who *regarded my low estate*,⁸ and pitied the youth of my ignorance, and kept me before I knew him, and before I had discernment or could distinguish between good and evil, and protected me and comforted me as a father does his son . . .
- 16 Now after I came to Ireland, every day I used to tend flocks and daily I often used to pray—love of God and the fear of him increased more

¹ Isa. 59.13² Cf. Gen. 26.5³ Isa. 42.25⁴ Cf. Jer. 9.16; Tobit 13.3⁵ Acts 13.47⁶ Luke 24.45⁷ Joel 2.12⁸ Luke 1.48

and more, and my faith grew, and my spirit was moved, so that in one day [I would say] as many as a hundred prayers, and at night nearly as many, when I used to stay even in the woods and on the mountain. And before daybreak I used to be roused to prayer, in snow, in frost, in rain; and I felt no hurt; nor was there any sluggishness in me — as I now see, because then *the spirit was fervent*¹ within me.

17 And there one night I heard in my sleep a voice saying to me, 'You fast to good purpose, you are soon to go to your fatherland.' And again, after a very short time I heard the answer [of God] saying to me, 'See, your ship is ready.' And it was not near at hand, but was distant perhaps two hundred miles. And I had never been there, nor did I know anyone there. And thereupon I shortly took to flight and left the man with whom I had been for six years, and I came in the strength of God who prospered my way for good, and I feared nothing until I reached that ship.

18–22 [Patrick tells of his adventures on his journey to Gaul on a ship with a cargo of (Irish wolf-)hounds.]

23 And again, after a few years, I was in Britain with my kindred, who received me as a son, and in good faith besought me that at all events now, after the great tribulations which I had undergone, I would not depart from them to any place.

And there I *saw in the night a vision*² of a man whose name was Victoricus coming as it were from Ireland with countless letters. And he gave me one of them, and I read the beginning of the letter which was entitled, 'The Voice of the Irish'; and while I was reading aloud the beginning of the letter, I thought that at that very moment I heard the voice of them who lived beside the wood of Voclut which is near the western sea. And thus they cried, *as with one mouth*,³ 'We beg you come and walk among us once more.'

And I was exceedingly *broken in heart*,⁴ and could read no further. And so I awoke. Thanks be to God that after very many years the Lord granted to them according to their cry . . .

26 And when I was assailed by not a few of my seniors who came and [urged] my sins against my laborious episcopate — certainly on that day *I was sore thrust at that I might fall*⁵ both here and in eternity. But the Lord graciously spared the stranger and sojourner for his name's sake; and he helped me exceedingly when I was thus trampled on, so that I did not come badly into disgrace and reproach. I pray God *that it may not be laid to their charge*⁶ as sin.

27 After the lapse of thirty years *they* found, as *an occasion*⁷ against me, a matter of which I had confessed before I was a deacon. Because of anxiety, with sorrowful mind, I disclosed to my dearest friend things

¹ Cf. Acts 18.25

² Dan. 7.13

³ Dan. 3.51

⁴ Acts 2.27, cf. Ps. 109.16

⁵ Ps. 118.13

⁶ 2 Tim. 4.16

⁷ Dan. 6.5

that I had done in my youth one day, nay, in one hour, because I had not yet overcome. *I cannot tell, God knoweth,*¹ if I was fifteen years old; and I did not believe in the living God, nor had I since my infancy; but I remained in death and in unbelief until I had been chastened exceedingly, and *humbled in truth by hunger and nakedness,*² and that daily.

41 Wherefore then in Ireland they who never had the knowledge of God, but until now only worshipped idols and abominations—how has there been lately *prepared a people*³ of the Lord, and they are called children of God? Sons and daughters of Scottic chieftains are seen to become monks and virgins of Christ.

42 And there was also one blessed lady of Scottic birth, of noble rank, most beautiful, grown up, whom I baptized; and after a few days she came to us for a certain cause. She disclosed to us that she had been warned by an angel of God, and that he counselled her to become a virgin of Christ, and draw near to God. Thanks be to God, six days after, most admirably and eagerly she seized on that which all virgins of God do in like manner; not with the consent of their fathers; but they endure persecution and reproaches from their kindred; and nevertheless their number increases more and more—and as for those of our race who have been reborn there, we know not the number of them—besides widows and those who practise continence.

But the women who are kept in slavery suffer especially; they constantly endure even unto terrors and threats. But the Lord gave grace to many of his handmaidens, for although they are forbidden, they earnestly follow the example set them.

50 Perchance then, when I baptized so many thousands of men I hoped from any one of them even as much as the half of a screpall. *Tell me and I shall restore it to you.*⁴ Or when the Lord ordained clergy everywhere by means of my unworthy self, and I imparted my service to them for nothing, if I asked from one of them even the price of my shoe; *tell it against me and I shall restore you*⁵ more.

51 *I spent for you*⁶ that they might receive me; and I journeyed both amongst you and everywhere for your sake, through many perils, even to outlying regions beyond which no man dwelt, and where never had anyone come to baptize, or ordain clergy, or confirm the people, I have, by the bounty of the Lord, initiated everything carefully and very gladly for your salvation.

52 On occasion, I used to give presents to the kings, besides the fees that I gave to their sons who accompany me; and nevertheless they seized me with my companions. And on that day they most eagerly desired to kill me; but my time had not yet come. And everything they

¹ 2 Cor. 12.2² Cf. Ps. 119(118). 75; 2 Cor. 11.27³ Cf. Luke 1.17⁴ 1 Sam. 12.3⁵ Ibid.⁶ 2 Cor. 12.15

found with us they plundered, and me myself they put in irons. And on the fourteenth day the Lord delivered me from their power; and whatever was ours was restored to us for the sake of God and the *near friends*¹ whom we had provided beforehand.

53| Moreover, ye know by proof how much I paid to those who were judges *throughout all the districts*² which I more frequently visited; for I reckon that I distributed to them not less than the price of fifteen men, so that ye might enjoy me, and I might ever enjoy you in God. I do not regret it, nor is it enough for me. Still *I spend and will spend more*.³ The Lord is mighty to grant to me afterwards to be *myself spent for your souls*⁴ (N. J. D. White, *St Patrick, his Writings and Life*, pp. 31–49, altered with acknowledgements to the translation of L. Bieler in ACW.)

1. *the most illiterate (rusticissimus)*: 'More than once he refers to people who hold him in contempt because of his "rusticity", that is, his lack of elegant diction, and frankly admits the truth of the charge' (L. Bieler, *The Works of St Patricks* (ACW, vol. XVII, p. 14), cf. *Confessio*, 10–12).

a presbyter: cf. *Letter to the Soldiers of Coroticus*, 11, 'I am the son of a decurion', i.e. probably of a magistrate of a town. But the term could be used of a minor military officer, whose station may have been in the north.

Bannavem Taberniae: Bieler, op. cit. (ACW), p. 75 says, 'The search for Patrick's birthplace is quite hopeless.' The most probable locations are (a) in England—a region exposed to Irish raids—or South Wales; (b) Ravenglass in Cumberland (*Clannaventa Berniciae*); (c) Dumbarton (cf. 264n below). For a succinct discussion see White, op. cit., pp. 11–12.

I did not know the true God: Patrick was however certainly a Christian when he was carried off.

23. after a few years: cf *after very many years*, below.

Victoricus: not otherwise known.

the Wood of Voclut: Tírecán (seventh century) says that the wood was near Killala in Co. Mayo. There is no reason to suppose that the wood was near the scene of his captivity which was, according to 'uniform and unbroken tradition' (White, op. cit., p. 9), Slemish in Co. Antrim.

after very many years: Patrick, then, after a comparatively short stay in Gaul returned home, and then, after his dream, returned there to prepare himself at Auxerre (or Lérins) for his work.

26. *my laborious episcopate*: the attack on Patrick must have happened because of his election as bishop, not because of his conduct in that office: *laborious* is retrospective. It is not Patrick's purpose to explain how he became a bishop, nor does he explain what he was doing between his return to his kindred and his consecration, roughly from c. 411 to c. 432. Muirchú (c. end of seventh century), *Life of Patrick*, 1.5–9 says that Patrick set out for Rome but tarried in Gaul with Germanus of Auxerre, who sent him to Ireland to succeed Palladius (262 above), who had died or given up his mission. According to Muirchú (ibid., 9) Patrick was consecrated by Amator (d. 418), the predecessor of Germanus. But it is more likely that Amator ordained him deacon and presbyter, and Germanus consecrated him as bishop. It is clear that there was

¹ Acts 10.24

² Esdras 11.25

³ 2 Cor. 12.15

⁴ Ibid

opposition to Patrick's consecration. Seniors (*seniores*) was a term used of important laity in, for example, North Africa, cf Frend in *JTS* (NS), XII (1961), pp. 280–4, 'The *Seniores Laici* and the origins of the Church in North Africa'.

27. *my dearest friend*: referred to again in sect. 32 as an opponent, though this friend had previously approved Patrick's being made a bishop (sect. 32). Patrick does not name his friend (for the conjecture that his name was *Deisignatus* see Bieler, *The Works of St Patrick* (ACW), p. 86).

41. *monks and virgins*: 'Compared with these striking expressions of enthusiasm the references to monasticism in the other Patrician documents look few and meagre indeed. The more these documents are studied the more the conclusion imposes itself that the tradition they enshrine is strongly clerical and episcopal, as distinct from monastic' (Ryan, *Irish Monasticism*, p. 92). Ryan goes on to point out (p. 94) the resemblance between Patrick's work and that of Martin (cf. 126 above).

50. *screpall*: a small silver coin.

51. *I spent for you*: i.e. Patrick had to use bribes in order to get permission to preach, cf. sect. 52 below.

52. *their sons who accompany me*: 'Ancient Ireland was divided into a great number of small states which often were at war with one another. Thus the protection of the Irish princes who escorted Patrick . . . might at times be of doubtful value. Patrick however had made friends of the other party as well, who, though somewhat belatedly, came to his rescue' (Bieler, *The Works of Patrick* (ACW), p. 89, thus reconstructs the sense).

264 Patrick: Letter to the Soldiers of Coroticus

Patrick, *Epistula*, 1–3, 12, 14, 21; text in L. Bieler, *Libri Epistolarum Sancti Patricii Episcopi* (Dublin, 1952), pp. 91–102

- 1 Patrick, a sinner and unlearned, I declare that I am a bishop indeed, resident in Ireland. Most surely I believe that from God I *have received what I am*¹. And so I dwell in the midst of barbarians, a stranger and an exile for the love of God. He is witness if this is so. Not that I desired to utter from my mouth anything so harshly and so roughly; but I am compelled *by zeal for God*;² and *the truth of Christ*³ roused me, for the love of my nearest friends and sons, for whom I have *not regarded* my fatherland and kindred, nor my life *even unto death*.⁴ I am worthy I have vowed to my God to teach the heathen, though I be despised by some.
- 2 With my own hand have I written and composed these words to be given and delivered and sent to the soldiers of Coroticus—I do not say to my fellow-citizens or to the fellow-citizens of the holy Romans, but to those who are fellow-citizens of demons because of their evil deeds. Behaving like enemies, they are dead while they live, allies of the Scots and apostate Picts, as though wishing to gorge themselves with blood,

¹ Cf. 1. Cor. 4.7; 15.10

² Cf. Rom. 10.2

³ 2 Cor. 11.10

⁴ Phil. 2.30

the blood of innocent Christians, whom I in countless numbers have begotten for God and confirmed in Christ.

3 On the day following that on which the newly baptized, in their white array, were anointed—it was still fragrant on their foreheads, when they were cruelly butchered and slaughtered with the sword by the aforesaid persons—I sent a letter with a holy presbyter whom I had taught from his infancy, clergy accompanying him, to ask them to grant us some of the booty and of the baptized whom they had captured. They jeered at them . . .

12 Men look askance at me. What shall I do, O Lord? I am exceedingly despised. Look, around me are thy sheep torn to pieces and spoiled, and that too by the gangsters aforesaid, by the orders of Coroticus with hostile disposition.

Far from the love of God is he who betrays Christians into the hands of the Scots and Picts. *Ravening wolves*¹ have swallowed up the flock of the Lord which indeed in Ireland was growing up excellently with the greatest care. And the sons and daughters of Scottic chieftains were monks and virgins of Christ. I cannot reckon the number of them. *Wherefore, be not pleased with the wrong done to the just; even unto hell it shall not please thee*².

14 This is the custom of the Roman Christians of Gaul. They send holy and fit men to the Franks and other heathen with many thousands of *solidi* to redeem baptized captives. You prefer to kill and sell them to a foreign nation which knows not God.³ You hand over *the members of Christ*⁴ as it were to a brothel. What manner of hope in God do you have or has he who consents with you, or who converses with you in words of flattery? God will judge; for it is written, *Not only those who commit evil, but those that consent with them shall be damned*.⁵

21 I ask earnestly that whatever servant of God be ready, should carry this letter, that on no account it be suppressed or concealed by anyone, but much rather be read in the presence of all the people, and in the presence of Coroticus himself if so be that God may inspire them to *amend their lives*⁶ to God sometime; so that even though late they may repent of their impious doings—murderer of the brethren of the Lord!—and may liberate the baptized women whom they have captured, so that they may deserve to live to God, and be made whole, both here and in eternity.

Peace to the Father, and to the Son, and to the holy Ghost. Amen. (N. J. D. White, *St Patrick, his Writings and Life*, pp. 54–60, altered with acknowledgements to the translation of L. Bieler in ACW.)

¹ Acts 30.29

² Eccles. 9.12

³ Cf. 1 Thess. 4.5

⁴ 1 Corp. 6.15

⁵ Rom. 1.32

⁶ 2 Tim. 2.25–6

The date of the letter is uncertain. The title has no MS authority but it is suggested by sect. 2. below: the letter addresses, for example, Coroticus himself as well as the soldiers.

1. *Unlearned*: cf. *Confession* 1 (263 above).

2. *Coroticus*: Muirchú, *Life of St Patrick*, II.29, says that Coroticus was king of Ail, i.e. Alcluith (Rock of Clyde), i.e. Dumbarton. He is regarded by Patrick as a Roman, and nominally a Christian; the expression *my fellow-citizens* may point to Dumbarton being Patrick's birthplace. It is clear from the connection of Coroticus with the Scots and Picts that he was a ruler in the north of Britain and has nothing to do with Ceredig from whom Cardigan is derived.

holy Romans: i.e. 'in so far as they are Christians . . . for Patrick "Romans" and "Christians" are identical terms. Coroticus and his subjects were (technically) Roman citizens quite as well as Patrick, but—so Patrick maintains— they live after the fashion of the enemies of Rome (spiritual Rome as well as secular), and even associate with them.' (Bieler, *The Works of St Patrick* (ACW), pp.91–2.)

apostate Picts:(?) who had revolted from Ninian's mission: cf. 261 above and for the same expression sect. 15 of this letter.

3. Patrick's emotion is so strong that the construction of his Latin goes astray.

21. *Peace to the Father, etc.*: Bieler, op.cit., p.94, takes this as 'a wish that peace may be restored with the Holy Trinity, in other words, that the guilty should make their peace with God'.

Notes on Sources

The names of Roman Emperors from whom various edicts emanate have not been included individually.

Ambrose, c. 339–97, was probably born at Trier, where his father was *Praefectus Praetorio Galliarum*. He followed an official career, and in 373 was governor of Liguria-Aemilia, with his residence at Milan. In that year he was chosen bishop of Milan by popular acclamation (94). As bishop his life was one of ceaseless activity directed to preaching, to works of charity, to the defence of the Church against heathen and heretics, and most notably, to her vindication against the State, which, however, he also served by acting as an ambassador. In his public actions he cannot avoid the charge of being, on occasion, unreasonable and overbearing (95, 97–9, 101–103).

Ambrosiaster is the name given to the author of a *Commentary on the Epistles of St Paul*, which is attributed to Ambrose in the MSS., but which is not by him; its date is c. 375. Speculation as to the identity of the author has led to no firm result, but the commentary is recognized as a work of great importance (180).

Ammianus Marcellinus, c. 330–post 390, of Antioch, was the last great historian of the ancient world. His history covered the period from AD 96 to 378, but only books 14–31 (AD 353–78) are extant. Though originally Greek-speaking, he acquired such knowledge of Latin as to write his history in that language. Ammianus served many years in the army, and travelled widely on service. Eventually he settled in Rome. He was a pagan, not intolerant, but strongly critical of various elements in contemporary Christianity (17, 39, 40, 43, 50, 52, 54, 56, 63).

Anastasius I., bishop of Rome 399–402. Only three letters of Anastasius survive, all written on the Origenist controversy (153).

Apollinarius, 310–c. 390, son of a presbyter of Laodicea in Syria, became bishop there in 361. He was renowned for his learning, but little survives of his extensive works on Holy Scripture, against the Arians, and against the Neoplatonist Porphyry. His views about the relationship of the divine and the human in the Incarnation became generally rejected from 362 onwards, and his followers were pursued by various ecclesiastical and civil condemnations (70), though his influence in the East, and especially on Alexandrian Christology, remained strong.

The Apophthegmata Patrum or 'Sayings of the Fathers' are a collection of sayings of Egyptian monks of the 4th and 5th centuries. They were known to Cyril of Scythopolis (d. 560), but survive complete only in a 6th-century translation. They remain one of the sources of inspiration of Latin monasticism. See Owen Chadwick, *Western Asceticism*, pp. 30–31.

Athanasius, c. 295–373, became bishop of Alexandria in 328. He had already been prominent at the council of Nicaea as deacon of Alexander. As bishop his career was one long series of vicissitudes involving him five times in exile. He remained a steadfast defender of Nicaea, and had the support of most of the Alexandrian Christians. As he grew older, the intransigence of his younger days mellowed, as at the council of Alexandria in 362 (65), into

a conciliatory approach to those who, while not Arians, did not use the language of Nicaea. His extensive works are mostly concerned with the controversies of his time, with the exposition of Nicene doctrine, and with propaganda for his own position (6, 10, 23-6, 29, 31, 64-5, 69).

Augustine (*Aurelius Augustinus*), 354-430, born at Thagaste in Numidia. At an early age he became, in 387, a Catholic Christian. Having studied first in North Africa, and particularly at Carthage (370-74), he left for Italy in 383, and soon was chosen as an official teacher of rhetoric in Milan. There his conversion took place in 386. Before this event he had passed under the influence of the Manichees, of the sceptical thought of the New Academy, and of Neoplatonism. He returned to Africa in 387, adopted the ascetic life, became presbyter in 391, and bishop of Hippo Regius in 396. Augustine played a leading, or rather a predominant part in the Donatist and Pelagian controversies. In succeeding centuries he has influenced Western theology more than any other of the Fathers (15, 100, 161-7, 170, 172, 175-81, 184-5, 187-8, 194, 253-4).

Auxentius, fl. c. 380, bishop of Dorostorum (Silistria), a pupil of Ulfila, wrote an *Epistola de fide, vita et obitu Ulfilae*, which has been preserved in a work of the Arian bishop Maximinus against Ambrose (61)

Basil (the Great), c. 330-79, of Caesarea in Cappadocia, abandoned, under the influence of his sister Macrina (75), a promising career as a public speaker and advocate, and adopted the ascetic life. He visited the chief monastic countries before establishing a community of his own near Neo-Caesarea in Pontus, where he remained five years. Called by Eusebius, bishop of Caesarea, to assist him, he was ordained priest and succeeded Eusebius in 370. As bishop his activities were incessant as organizer of the monastic life and of works of charity, and as defender of the Nicene faith against the Arians. He also laboured assiduously but unsuccessfully to heal the Schism of Antioch, and to bring the Western Church to a true understanding of Eastern affairs. Basil, his friend Gregory of Nazianzus (q.v.), and his brother Gregory of Nyssa (q.v.) are known as the Cappadocian Fathers, who worked out the ultimate solution of the Arian Controversy (66, 76, 78, 80, 82-4).

Bede, c. 673-735, monk of Jarrow, famed for his learning and sanctity. One extract from his *Historia Ecclesiastica Gentis Anglorum*, containing the earliest literary reference to Ninian, appears in this volume (261)

Cassian, John, c. 360-c. 435. His birthplace is uncertain, but at an early age he entered a monastery at Bethlehem, and later spent ten years with the monks in Egypt. He was ordained deacon by John Chrysostom, and c. 405 carried an appeal from the clergy of Constantinople on behalf of John to Innocent I. He spent the rest of his life in the West, where he did much to further monastic ideals and practices, which form the subject of his extensive works, written in Latin. He founded monasteries for men and for women at Marseilles c. 415 (131, 137).

Codex Canonum Ecclesiae Africanae is a collection of canons of African councils, confirmed by, or enacted at, the council of Carthage held in May 419 (171).

Codex Justinianus, published in 529 under Justinian, Emperor at Constantinople from 527 to 565 is a compilation of imperial enactments of various types from Hadrian onwards (255n).

Codex Theodosianus, a collection of imperial edicts from 313 onwards, pub-

lished under Theodosius II in 438. It contains many edicts relating to Christianity. As a whole, the picture that it presents of the Empire is one 'in which the best intentions of the central power were, generation after generation, mocked and defeated alike by irresistible laws of human nature, and by hopeless perfidy and corruption in the servants of government' (S. Dill, *Roman Society in the last Century of the Western Empire*, p. 281) (13, 16, 37, 55, 57-8, 93, 98, 112, 114-21, 124-5, 191, 214).

Coelestine I, bishop of Rome, 422-32. Sixteen of his letters survive, most of which deal with the controversy about Nestorius (221). He was also strongly anti-Pelagian (262).

Collectio Avellana (CSEL, XXXV) is a collection of letters, dated between 367 and 553, of Popes and Emperors. It is so named from the monastery of S. Croce di Fonte Avellana, to which one of the two earliest MSS. (now Vatic. Lat. 4961) belonged (108, 111, 113).

Councils. Detailed references to the sources of the *Acts* of councils included in this book are given at the head of individual sections. Various scholars have edited collections of 'conciliar' material from the sixteenth century onwards. Mention may be made (for the period to 461) of J. D. Mansi, *Sacrorum Conciliorum nova et amplissima collectio*, vols. 1-6, with Supplementum I, 1759-61, of Hefele-Leclercq, *Histoire des Conciles*, vols. I and II (1907-8), and, for the ecumenical councils, of E. Schwartz, *Acta Conciliorum Oecumenicorum*, 1922-40.

Cyril, bishop of Alexandria 412-44, was nephew of his predecessor Theophilus. He wrote extensively on exegesis, on doctrine, and on apologetics. His works on doctrine are in a great measure concerned with the controversy with Nestorius (q.v.) concerning the two natures in the Incarnation. Cyril pursued his opponent with unremitting hostility, and was not averse to doubtful methods in gaining his ends. That his character could arouse the strongest antipathy can be seen from passage 228 above (219, 222, 226-7).

Cyril of Jerusalem, c. 313-c. 386, was bishop there from c. 350 onwards, but he was exiled several times through conflicts with his metropolitan, Acacius of Caesarea (in 358 and 360), and with the Emperor Valens, under whom he was absent from his see between 367 and 378. In 348 he delivered his celebrated *Catechetical Lectures* to those seeking baptism, and to the newly baptized. His doctrinal position followed that of most of the Eastern bishops toward the *Homoiousion* rather than the creed of Nicaea. It is significant for the change of emphasis in Trinitarian doctrine brought about by the Cappadocians that the council of Constantinople (382) paid a handsome tribute to his struggles against the Arians (11, 18).

Damasus, bishop of Rome 366-84. His election was disputed by Ursinus, and formidable riots ensued. Many perished in these, and Damasus was arraigned on a charge of homicide, from which the Emperor extricated him. Damasus was an accomplished, if not inspired, writer of verse, with which he adorned the tombs of the martyrs, and he also sponsored Jerome's new Latin text of Holy Scripture (74).

Egeria (or *Etheria*) came from a religious house on the Atlantic coast either in Gallaecia or Aquitania. She wrote a vivid account to her fellow sisters in the West, of her journey between 381 and 384 to visit biblical sites, mainly in Palestine and Mesopotamia, but including a long trip to Thebes in the Nile valley. Her narrative begins with Mount Sinai and ends at Constantinople.

She spent some time at Jerusalem, where she described the services of the Christian year. In the extracts quoted Egeria describes the weekly round of services in the Holy Places of the city (201). Apart from a few fragments preserved in Madrid, the only source is an 11th-century MS discovered in 1884 at Arezzo by J. F. Gamurrini.

Elisaeus Vartabed, *d. c.* 480, Armenian historian, took part in the struggles of his country against the Persians. He later became a solitary, and gained a great reputation for sanctity. Besides his *History*, he wrote numerous other works, including commentaries on Holy Scripture (200).

Epiphanius, *c.* 315–403, of Eleutheropolis near Gaza in Palestine, a convert from Judaism, acquired a great reputation for knowledge and sanctity as head of a monastery which he established near his native place. In 367 he was chosen as bishop of Constantia (Salamis) in Cyprus, and metropolitan of the island. He was a violent defender of orthodoxy, but his undoubted learning is not matched by clarity of thought and by tact. According to Jerome he knew Greek, Syriac, Hebrew, Coptic, and some Latin. His work against heresies—eighty in number—the *Panarion* (medicine chest) is usually cited in abbreviated form as *Haer.* It preserves many extracts from works no longer extant. Epiphanius entered with zest into the controversy about Origen, and attacked John of Jerusalem even in the latter's own diocese. Later he sided with Theophilus of Alexandria against John Chrysostom, but discovered, almost too late, the falsity of the charges against John (5, 148).

Etheria, *see* Egeria

Faustus of Byzantium, wrote *c.* 400 a *History of Armenia* from 344 to 387, in Greek, which survives in an Armenian translation (59).

Firmicus Maternus, Julius, *fl. c.* 340, wrote, presumably while still a pagan, eight books on astrology *c.* 335–7; later, as a Christian, *c.* 346–8, he wrote *De Errore Profanarum Religionum*, a violent polemic against paganism, in which he exhorted Constantius II and Constans to get on with the task of destroying the old religion (12).

Flavian, bishop of Constantinople 446–9, wrote to Leo (q.v.) on the problem of Eutyches, and the latter replied with his *Tome*. Flavian appealed to Leo after being disgracefully treated at the council of Ephesus in 449 (243).

Gregory of Nazianzus, *c.* 330–*c.* 390, bishop of Sasima and, for a brief space, of Constantinople, was son of the bishop of Nazianzus. He became a friend of Basil (q.v.), when they were both students at Athens, and later joined Basil's monastery. When the latter wished, as bishop of Caesarea, to preserve the area of his jurisdiction against encroachments, he ordained Gregory bishop of Sasima, a small place that he never visited. In 374 he retired into the monastic life, but in 378 was invited to Constantinople to minister to the Nicene congregation there. After the restoration of Nicene orthodoxy under Theodosius I, Gregory became bishop of Constantinople, and was made president of the second ecumenical council (381). But he had little taste for ecclesiastical intrigue and so resigned. He returned once more to serve the church at Nazianzus, and finally retired to an estate that he possessed (41, 67–8, 71, 77, 87, 89, 92).

Gregory of Nyssa, *c.* 335–95, younger brother of Basil of Caesarea (q.v.), was ordained bishop of Nyssa by his brother *c.* 371. He was deposed *c.* 376 by an Arianizing synod, but returned amid great popular enthusiasm after the

death of Valens. Gregory excelled as orator and theologian, and in general learning. In the affairs of the Antiochene Church, he took the part of Meletius, as Basil did. He was one of the leading figures at the council of Constantinople in 381. In 385 he delivered the oration at the funeral of the princess Pulcheria, and later at that of the Empress Flacilla. Gregory's wife Theosebia died *c.* 385; he attended a council at Constantinople in 394 and must himself have died soon afterwards (72, 75, 85-6).

Hilary, *c.* 315-67, bishop of Poitiers from *c.* 350, 'the Athanasius of the West', was an energetic defender of the faith of Nicaea. He was sent into exile by Constantius II, and lived in the East from 356 to 360. During his exile he wrote his *De Trinitate*. On his return he led the resurgence of the Nicene faith in Gaul, and also carried his campaign into North Italy, but he was unable to dislodge Auxentius, the 'Homoean' bishop of Milan, who was protected by Valentinian I (7, 21, 27, 73).

Hosius, *see* Ossius

Innocent I, bishop of Rome 402-17, did much to extend the influence of the Roman Church both in the Western and Eastern parts of the Empire. Thirty-six of his letters survive (184, 190).

Isidore of Pelusium, *d. c.* 435, a presbyter and monk of excellent education, both classical and ecclesiastical. A collection of his letters, over 2,000 in number, is extant (228).

Jerome, *c.* 347-*c.* 420, of Stridon in Dalmatia, was educated in Rome, and sought the monastic life in Gaul, North Italy, and Syria. In 370 he was ordained priest by Paulinus of Antioch, and then went to Constantinople where he heard the sermons of Gregory of Nazianzus (q.v.). In 382 he was again in Rome, and, under the patronage of Damasus, began his revision of the Latin text of Holy Scripture. His advocacy of extreme ascetic practices, particularly among the aristocratic ladies of Rome, roused hatred against him there and he left Italy for ever in 385. For the rest of his life he was head of a (Western) monastery at Bethlehem. Unfortunately his eminence in scholarship was matched by his virulence in controversy, particularly in his quarrel with his former friend Rufinus (q.v.) over the orthodoxy of Origen (58, 110, 132-3, 138, 140-47, 149-52, 155-9).

John, 354-407, called from the sixth century **Chrysostom**, because of his surpassing oratory, came from a distinguished family, his father having been *magister militum Orientis*. He was baptized *c.* 375, and attempted to follow a monastic life in the desert, but his weak health compelled his return to Antioch, where he was ordained deacon (381) and priest (386). Thereafter he held the office of public preacher for twelve years; his most famous series of sermons being those of 387 'on the statues' (see 203 above). In 398 he was made bishop of Constantinople, where his reforming zeal, his outspoken preaching, and his tactless interferences (for example at Ephesus) proved his undoing, cf. 210 above. Exiled by the so called 'Synod of the Oak' which was dominated by Theophilus of Alexandria, he was soon recalled, but he roused the hatred of the Empress Eudoxia and a second exile followed (404). For a few years he exercised great influence from exile, a fact which impelled his enemies to have him transferred to a more distant place. On the journey he died at Comana in Pontus. His relics were brought back to Constantinople in 438 (203, 207).

Julian, 331-63, nephew of Constantine the Great, Emperor 361-63. Only

Julian and his half-brother Gallus survived the massacre of Constantine's brothers and nephews in 337. They spent miserable years at Macellum in Cappadocia, but Julian was later allowed to live and study in various cities, and eventually at Athens, where he was acquainted with Basil and with Gregory of Nazianzus. He was created Caesar in 355, and defended Gaul vigorously against the barbarians. In 360 he revolted and became sole Emperor on the death of Constantine in 361. Julian had become utterly imbued with the spirit of the ancient culture. He turned against Christianity, though the open breach did not occur till he became Emperor. His restoration of paganism was too short lived to have any lasting effect. He was killed in battle with the Persians (38, 44-5, 47-9, 51).

Julius I, bishop of Rome 337-52. Only two letters written by him survive; part of one of these, addressed to the Eastern bishops on the case of Athanasius, is given in 4 above.

Leo I (the Great), bishop of Rome 440-61, did much to spread the power of the Roman See. He exercised great influence, particularly through his *Tome* (241), in the Eutychian controversy. He energetically opposed canon 28 of Chalcedon (pp. 365ff above). Leo twice acted as an ambassador to barbarian leaders, to Atilla in 452 and to Gaiseric in 455 (231-3, 241, 251-2).

Libanius, c. 314-c. 393, of Antioch, a distinguished pagan sophist writer and rhetorician, who taught at Constantinople and Nicomedia, and finally in his native city. It is uncertain whether John Chrysostom was one of his pupils. A large number of Libanius' works are extant (139).

Liberius, bishop of Rome 352-66, resisted the pressure brought to bear on the Western Church by Constantius II and was sent into exile from 355-8. In his exile he went so far, as to break communion with Athanasius and to sign some statement of doctrine, probably the 'first' Creed of Sirmium of 351 (i.e. Antioch 2). He was allowed to return, but was at first embarrassed by the presence in Rome of Felix, set up by the Emperor in his absence. Thirteen letters of Liberius exist in whole or in fragments, but the authenticity of all of them is not beyond doubt (20).

Marcellus, bishop of Ancyra before 325, d. c. 375. Marcellus was a strong supporter of the Creed of Nicaea, and an attack made by him on the Arian sophist Asterius led to his expulsion in 336 on a charge of Sabellianism. In 340 he was in Rome, where he and Athanasius (q.v.) were vindicated. The appearance of Athanasius and Marcellus with the Western bishops at Sardica led to the break-up of that council. But Athanasius found Marcellus an embarrassing ally, and they parted company. Marcellus took little part in further controversies. He was pronounced a heretic by the council of Constantinople in 381 (5).

Nestorius, c. 381-c. 452, bishop of Constantinople, 428-31. Nestorius was a monk of Antioch. He was a famous preacher, and was chosen bishop of Constantinople in 428. There he proved a harsh opponent of Jews and heretics. An upholder of Antiochene christology, he came into conflict with Cyril of Alexandria (q.v.) and was deposed at the council of Ephesus (431). Till 436 he lived in a monastery, and then was sent to the Oasis in Egypt, where he lingered on till after the council of Chalcedon (217, 220, 225, 245).

Niceta, bishop of Remesiana, east of Naïssus, d. post 414, a friend of Paulinus of Nola, wrote six books of *Teaching for Catechumens* (of which two books are extant), and other works including hymns. In modern times it has been

suggested that he was the author of the *Te Deum* (105).

Optatus, fl. c. 365, bishop of Milevis in Numidia, attacked the Donatists in his work *On the Schism of the Donatists* or *Against Parmenian*, in six books to which a seventh was added later. In an appendix he subjoined an important collection of documents dealing with the early history of the sect (14, 15, 173).

Ossius (Hosius), bishop of Cordova from early in the fourth century till his death, at almost 100 years of age, in 357–58. He was the initial religious adviser of Constantine, and later played a leading part at the council of Sardica. His adherence to the 'Blasphemy' of Sirmium in 357 was secured perhaps by force (9, 24).

Palladius, c. 365–c. 425, bishop c. 400–405 of Helenopolis in Bithynia. He had previously been a monk in Egypt and Palestine. Palladius was a friend and admirer of John Chrysostom (q.v.), and in consequence spent six years (406–412) in exile in Egypt. His *Lausiaca History*, addressed to Lausus, chamberlain of Theodosius II, an account of the monks, and his *Dialogue on the Life of Chrysostom* are important historical sources (134–5, 160, 205–7, 209).

Patrick c. 389–c. 461 was carried as a captive to Ireland from his birthplace somewhere in Britain. After six years he found his way to the Continent where he studied in Gaul, was ordained, and eventually received episcopal consecration c. 431 from Germanus of Auxerre, to continue the work of Palladius in Ireland. His preaching met with signal success. The only reliable sources for Patrick's life are his own works, of which parts are given in passages 263 and 264. But the whole history of Patrick's is a subject of extensive and fascinating controversy (263–4).

Paulinus, secretary to Ambrose during the last years of the latter's life, afterwards went to Africa, where he wrote c. 420, a *Life of Ambrose*, dedicated to Augustine (94, 104).

Pelagius, b. c. 355, a lay monk (?) from Great Britain or Ireland, was in Rome for a long period up to 410. Later he was in Sicily and Africa (410), and in Palestine (411ff). He was the author of a *Commentary on the Epistles of Paul* (still extant). From c. 410 he was involved in the controversy about grace and free will, to which his name is attached. His views were attacked by Augustine (q.v.), Jerome, and Orosius, and were finally condemned by the council of Ephesus in 431. Notwithstanding his hostility to the views of Pelagius, Augustine speaks most highly of him as a person (182–3).

Petilian, Donatist Bishop of Constantine, fl. c. 399–412. Ablest of Augustine's Donatist opponents, lawyer and one-time Catholic before espousing the Donatist cause and becoming Bishop of Constantine. Wrote encyclical letters to this clergy justifying the Donatist insistence on re-baptizing converts to their church and their attitude towards the North African Catholics. He was the principal Donatist spokesman at the Conference of Carthage with the Catholics in 411. Extracts from his encyclical are quoted by Augustine in his reply (173).

Philostorgius, fl. c. 430, a Cappadocian, wrote a history of the Church from c. 300 to 425 in twelve books. Only fragments are now extant. He was an Arian, of the Eunomian variety, and his work reflects the Arian point of view (62).

Possidius, c. 360–c. 438, bishop of Calama, was a friend of Augustine for

many years, and wrote a *Life of Augustine*. He was one of Augustine's leading supporters in the controversy with the Donatists (168, 189).

Prosper Tiro of Aquitaine, *c.* 390–*c.* 463, was a lay theologian, friend of Augustine, and defender of his views against the Pelagians. After Augustine's death, however, he wavered. His *Chronicle* continued that of Jerome down to 455. After 440 he became, at Rome, a secretary of Leo I (258–9, 262).

Prudentius (*Aurelius Prudentius Clemens*) 348–*c.* 405, the greatest Christian poet of the early centuries, was born in Spain. He first practised at the bar, and later held high administrative office. In middle life he renounced his official career, and devoted himself to the writing of poetry. His works are arranged in eight books, which display remarkable ability in handling various metres and non-poetic subject matter (42).

Rufinus, Tyrannius, of Aquileia, *d.* 410, was the friend, and later the enemy of Jerome (q.v.). They were members of the same monastic community near Aquileia, and afterwards Rufinus went to the East, to Egypt and Palestine. He was strongly attached to Origen's theology, and this led him into conflict with Jerome. His chief importance for Christian literature is as a translator into Latin of Origen and of Eusebius of Caesarea (106).

Rutilius Claudius Namatianus held high office in Rome *c.* 412–14, and must have been one of the last pagans to do so (cf. 120 above). He set out from Italy to return to his native land, Gaul, in 416, and wrote a poem, *De Reditu suo*, describing his journey (139).

Salvian, *c.* 400–*c.* 480, spent some time at Lérins, and later settled at Marseilles. His *De Gubernatione Dei*, in eight books, attempts to combat the growing feeling, brought on by the successes of the barbarians, that God did not care. Salvian regards the calamities of the Empire as a just punishment for the sins of the Romans, to whom the barbarians were mostly far superior (255–7).

Siricius, bishop of Rome 384–99. Under him letters from the bishop of Rome were described for the first time as *decretals*, i.e. 'in effect a papal adaptation of the imperial rescript, that is to say an authoritative answer to an inquiry which becomes a legal precedent (and so a general law)' (Jalland, *The Church and the Papacy*, p. 268, n. 3) (109).

Socrates *c.* 380–*post* 439, of Constantinople, a lawyer, wrote a history of the Church from 305 to 439, in seven books. He has preserved many original documents, and his general attitude on ecclesiastical questions is an impartial one (1, 7, 35–6, 46, 53, 88, 154, 198, 202, 204, 208, 210, 213, 215–6, 230, 236).

Sozomen, *fl.* *c.* 440, from near Gaza in Palestine, wrote a history of the Church in nine books. Like Socrates (q.v.) he was a lawyer at Constantinople. He was very dependent on Socrates, but also quotes original documents not used by the latter. His history is embellished with more legendary material than that of Socrates, and he is markedly favourable to the monastic movement. (3, 22, 28, 30, 33–4, 60, 76, 88, 123, 130, 235).

Sulpicius Severus, *d. c.* 420, belonged to a distinguished family of Aquitaine. He received an excellent education and was a well-known barrister when the death of his wife and the influence of Martin of Tours and of Paulinus of Nola led him to forsake the world for the life of a solitary. His *Chronicle* is a sketch of Jewish and ecclesiastical history down to 400. His extensive

writings on Martin are a leading source for the spread of monasticism in Gaul (19, 126–9).

Symmachus, Q. Aurelius, c. 340–402, was a notable figure as orator and official. He was *praefectus urbi* in 384–5, and consul in 391. As a leading member of the pagan aristocracy he strove hard, but ineffectually, against Christianity, particularly on the question of the Altar of Victory in the Senate House (89).

Synesius of Cyrene, c. 370–c. 415, bishop of Ptolemaïs from c. 410, was a pupil of the Neoplatonist Hypatia at Alexandria. From c. 399 to 402 he was in Constantinople as an ambassador from his homeland, and on his return led resistance to barbarian invaders. About 410 the populace demanded that he should become their bishop, and he consented on condition that he could retain philosophical beliefs that appeared to conflict with Christianity, and that he need not give up normal family life. His letters tell much both about Synesius himself, and about the contemporary situation. (211–12)

Synodicon Orientale is a collection of the acts of Nestorian synods, edited in 1902 by J. B. Chabot from two MSS., one in Paris and the other in Rome. It forms vol. 37 of *Notices et extraits des manuscrits de la Bibliothèque Nationale et autres bibliothèques* (196, 199).

Theodore, Bishop of Mopsuestia in Cilicia, died in 428, that is, before the 'Nestorian Controversy' began. His commentaries on St Paul's Epistles gave him the scope to put forward a Christology based on the recognition of the full humanity of Jesus as a man, that contrasted sharply with the Alexandrian Word–Flesh Christology represented by Cyril. His theology of the Incarnation was condemned at the Council of Ephesus in 431 and at the Fifth Ecumenical Council at Constantinople in 553 (218).

Theodoret, c. 393–c. 460, bishop from 423 of the unimportant see of Cyrrhus, east of Antioch, where he laboured wholeheartedly for the spiritual and temporal benefit of his flock. In Christology he adhered to the Antiochene school; he was deposed at the council of Ephesus in 449, and reinstated at Chalcedon only after, at long last, condemning Nestorius. Theodoret was a prolific writer as apologist, exegete, and historian. His history of the Church covers the period from 324 to 428, and his letters, over 230 in number, are a most important historical source for his own period (8, 63, 79, 81, 122, 197, 228, 237–8, 244).

Victor or Vita, bishop, wrote, in the second half of the fifth century, an *Historia persecutionis Africanae provinciae*, relating the sufferings of the Catholics at the hands of the Vandals between 429 and 484 (260).

Vincent of Lérins, d. ante 451, was a presbyter of the monastery established by Honoratus. His *Commonitorium* ('aid to memory') was written c. 434, and is designed to formulate principles by which Christian truth and heretical error are distinguished from one another (229).

Zosimus fl. c. 430, wrote, in Greek, a history of the Roman Empire down to AD 410. He was a pagan, deeply concerned for the collapse of the Empire, which he attributed to its apostasy from the ancient gods and its acceptance of Christianity (139).

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Chronological Tables

Roman Emperors and General History	Bishops of, and Events at			
	Rome	Alexandria	Constantinople	Antioch
337. Death of Constantine { CONSTANTINE II 337-40 { CONSTANTIUS II CONSTANS 337. Massacre of the relations of Constantine 337-50. Persian War 340. Civil war. Constantine II killed near Aquileia { CONSTANTIUS II 340-50. { CONSTANS 343. Triumph of Constantius over the Persians 350. Constans killed 350-61. CONSTANTIUS II [Nepotian, 350] [Magnentius, 350-3] (Gallus Caesar, 351-4) (Julian Caesar, 355-61) 351. Battle of Mursa 355ff. Julian defends Gaul 357. Constantius visits Rome 359. Persian War 360-1. Civil war threatened between Constantius and Julian	337-52. Julius I	328-73. Athanasius 337. Return of Athanasius Second exile of Athanasius, 339-46 [Gregory, 339-45]	336-8. Paul (i) 338-41. Eusebius (translated from Nicomedia) 341-2. Paul (ii) 342-6. Macedonius (i) 346-51 Paul (iii) 351-60. Macedonius (ii)	333-42. Flaccillus 342-4 Stephen (deposed) 344-57. Leontius
361-3. JULIAN (d. 26 June 363)—end of Constantinian dynasty Persian War continues	Liberius in exile, 355-8	Third exile of Athanasius, 356-61 [George, 357-8, d. 361]	357. Relics of Andrew the Apostle and Luke brought to Constantinople 360-70 Eudoxius (translated from Antioch) 360. Dedication of St Sophia	357-60. Eudoxius 361. Meletius (i) (exiled) [361-76. Euzoïus (Arian)] 361. Meletius (ii)*
		Fourth exile of Athanasius, 362		362. Paulinus consecrated by Lucifer as bishop of Eusathian church

* Meletius was exiled for a second time between 361 and 365, but the exact date is not certain.

Usurping Emperors and intruding bishops are placed in [].

<i>Other Prominent Christian Writers and Teachers</i>	<i>Councils, Creeds, Heresies and Schisms</i>	<i>Paganism</i>	<i>Non-ecclesiastical Writers</i>
<p>Eusebius of Caesarea (d. 339), <i>Life of Constantine</i> 339–c. 366. Acacius of Caesarea</p> <p>Ephraim the Syrian <i>fl.</i> c. 340 (d. c. 373)</p> <p>c. 345. Firmicus Maternus <i>fl.</i></p> <p>346. Pachomius d. 348. Cyril of Jerusalem, <i>Catechetical Lectures</i> 350. Cyril becomes bishop of Jerusalem</p> <p>353. Paulinus of Nola b. (d. 431) 354. Augustine b. 356. Antony d. 356–60. Exile of Hilary of Poitiers 357–62. Cyril in exile 358. Eustathius of Sebaste deposed 358. Ossius d. 358. Basil of Ancyra <i>fl.</i></p>	<p>338. In Egypt 340. Rome. Vindication of Athanasius and Marcellus of Ancyra ?340. Gangra 341. Antioch (council of the dedication). Second Creed of Antioch</p> <p>Fourth Creed of Antioch</p> <p>343. Sardica. Doctrinal statement of Ossius and Protogenes 345. <i>Ekthesis Macrosthios</i></p> <p>347. Sirmium. Deposition (ineffective) of Photinus 347. Donatism. Mission of Paul and Macarius. Donatists persecuted 348. Carthage. 'Unity' established 351. Sirmium. Deposition of Photinus 353. Arles 355. Milan 357. 'Blasphemy' of Sirmium 358. Ancyra 359. The 'Dated' Creed</p> <p>359. Ariminum and Seleucia 360. Constantinople 360. Paris</p>	<p>338. Christians persecuted in Persia</p> <p>342. Pagan sacrifices forbidden</p> <p>355. Conversion of Marius Victorinus</p>	<p>354. Calendar of Philocalus</p> <p>Oribasius (doctor) <i>fl.</i></p> <p>Thermistius (orator) <i>fl.</i></p>
<p>361. Exiled bishops restored</p> <p>361–91. Apollinarius of Laodicea <i>fl.</i> 362–c. 390. Parmenian, Donatist bishop of Carthage</p>	<p>362. Alexandria</p> <p>362. Restoration of Donatism by Julian</p>	<p>361–3. Restoration of paganism by Julian. Martyrdom of Mark of Arethusa, of Paul and John at Rome 362. Temple of Apollo at Daphne burnt 363. Temple of Apollo on the Palatine at Rome burnt</p>	

<i>Roman Emperors and General History</i>	<i>Bishops of, and Events at</i>			
	<i>Rome</i>	<i>Alexandria</i>	<i>Constantinople</i>	<i>Antioch</i>
363-4. JOVIAN Peace with Persia 365. Revolt of Procopius at Constantinople 364-7. { VALENTINIAN I VALENS 367-75. { VALENTINIAN I VALENS GRATIAN Portico of <i>Dii Consentes</i> at Rome 375-8. { VALENS GRATIAN VALENTINIAN II 378. Battle of Adria- nople	366-84. Damasus [Ursinus 366-7] 371. Damasus accused of homicide and acquitted by the Emperor	Meeting of Jovian and Athanasius Fifth exile of Athanasius, 365 373-81. Peter II (in exile 373-8) [Lucius, 373-8]	370-80. Demo- philus (deposed)	365-78. Mele- tius in exile [Vitalis (Apolli- narian) 375]
378-83. { GRATIAN VALENTINIAN II THEODOSIUS I	Jerome's trans- lation of the Bible begun	381-5. Timothy	379-81. Gre- gory of Nazianzus (resigned) [Maximus, 380] 381-97. Nec- tarius	378, Meletius (iii) 381. Death of Meletius at Constantinople 381-404. Flavian
383-92. { VALENTINIAN II THEODOSIUS I ARCADIUS [Maximus, 383-8]	384-99. Siricius <i>Decretals</i> of Siricius 386. Orders given for the building of St Paul's- outside-the- Walls	385-412. Theo- philus		387. The epi- sode of the statues at Antioch 388. Death of Paulinus (suc- ceeded by Eva- grius)
392-3. { THEODOSIUS I ARCADIUS [Eugenius, 392-4]				
393-5. { THEODOSIUS I ARCADIUS HONORIUS 394. Battle of the Fri- gidus				

Usurping Emperors and intruding bishops are placed in [].

<i>Other Prominent Christian Writers and Teachers</i>	<i>Councils, Creeds, Heresies and Schisms</i>	<i>Paganism</i>	<i>Non-ecclesiastical Writers</i>
367. Optatus of Milevis <i>fl.</i> 370-9. Basil of Caesarea in Cappadocia 373. Gregory of Nazianzus, bishop of Sasima 374-c. 384. Gregory of Nyssa 373-97. Ambrose of Milan 375. Marcellus of Ancyra <i>d.</i> c. 376 Gothic migration under Ulfila	364. Lampsacus 365. Ashtishat Valens persecutes all except supporters of the 'Dated' Creed 368. Rome. Auxentius of Milan condemned 374. Valence c. 378. Beginning of Priscillian's teaching in Spain	375. Gratian declines title of <i>Pontifex Maximus</i>	370. Eutropius <i>fl.</i>
378-c. 393. Diodore of Tarsus 381. Ulfila <i>d.</i>	378. Sirmium 379. Antioch 380. Proscription of heresy c. 380? Laodicea (Phrygia) 381. Constantinople (Second Ecumenical) 381. Aquileia 382. Rome 382. Constantinople		380. Aurelius Victor <i>fl.</i> 380. Symmachus <i>fl.</i> 380. Ammianus Marcellinus <i>fl.</i>
386. Jerome leaves Italy for Palestine 386. Conversion of Augustine	385. Death of Priscillian and his friends at Trier 392. Capua	384. The question of the Altar of Victory 390. Destruction of the Serapeum at Alexandria 391. Prohibition of sacrifices 392. Suppression of pagan worship	c. 390. Ausonius <i>fl.</i> 390. Libanius <i>fl.</i>
392-428. Theodore of Mopsuestia 392-430. Aurelius of Carthage			
	Origenist controversy		

<i>Roman Emperors and General History</i>		<i>Bishops of, and Events at</i>			
		<i>Rome</i>	<i>Alexandria</i>	<i>Constantinople</i>	<i>Antioch</i>
<i>West</i>	<i>East</i>				
395-423. HONORIUS	395-408. ARCADIUS			398-404. John Chrysostom (d. in exile, 407)	
397. Revolt of Gildo in Africa [Attalus 408-10]	399. Revolt of Gainas	399-402. Anastasius		[Arsacius, 404-5] 406-25. Atticus	404-13. Porphyry
408. Murder of Stilicho	408-50. THEODOSIUS II	402-17. Innocent I			
409. Romans leave Britain			412-44. Cyril		
410. Fall of Rome					413-20. Alexander
413. Revolt of Heraclian in Africa		417-18. Zosimus		426-7. Sisinnius	420-9. Theodotus
		418-22. Boniface I		428-31. Nestorius (d. in exile c. 452)	429-41. John
421. CONSTANTIUS III [John, 423-5]	422. Peace with Persia	422-43. Coelestinus I		431-4. Maximian	
425-55. VALENTINIAN III				434-46. Proclus	
429. Vandals invade Africa				438. Relics of Chrysostom brought to Constantinople	441-9. Domnus (exiled 449, d. c. 452)
	438. Theodosian Code published	432-40. Sixtus III			
439. Fall of Carthage		440-61. Leo I			
451. Galla Placidia d.	450-7. MARCIAN (PULCHERIA)	452. Leo's embassy to Attila	444-51. Dioscorus (deposed, d. 454)	446-9. Flavian 449-58. Anatolius	449-55. Maximus (deposed)
453. Attila d.			451-7. Proterius (murdered)		455-8. Basil
454. Aëtius murdered by Valentinian					
455. PETRONIUS MAXIMUS The Vandals capture Rome					
455-6. AVITUS					
456-61. MAJORIAN					
	457-74. LEO I		457-60. Timothy the Cat (deposed) 460-82. Timothy of The White Cap	458-71. Gennadius	458. Acacius 458-65. Martyrius (exiled)

Usurping Emperors and intruding bishops are placed in [].

<i>Other Prominent Christian Writers and Teachers</i>	<i>Councils, Creeds Heresies and Schisms</i>	<i>Paganism</i>	<i>Non-ecclesiastical Writers</i>
397. Ambrose d. 398. Didymus of Alexandria d. 400. Ninian <i>fl.</i> 403. Epiphanius d. 410-15, Synesius, bishop of Ptolemais 411 ff. Anti-Pelagian works of Augustine 412-35. Rabbula, bishop of Edessa 418. Orosius <i>fl.</i> c. 420. Jerome d. 429. Honoratus of Lérins (bishop of Arles) d. 429-44. Hilary, bishop of Arles 430. Augustine d. 432. Patrick's mission to Ireland 440. Vincent of Lérins <i>fl.</i> 440. Prosper of Aquitaine <i>fl.</i> 440. Socrates Sozomen (historians) <i>fl.</i> 440. Theodoret <i>fl.</i> 450. Salvian <i>fl.</i> 451 Maximus of Turin <i>fl.</i> 454-7. Deogratias, bishop of Carthage 454. Julian of Eclanum d. 459. Symeon Stylites d. 460. Remigius of Rheims <i>fl.</i> 461. Patrick d.	410. Seleucia- Ctesiphon 412. Carthage. Caelestius condemned 415. Diospolis (Lydda). Pelagius exonerated 417. Innocent I condemns Pelagius and Caelestius, but they are momentarily upheld by Zosimus 418. Honorius banishes the Pelagians 424. Synod of Dadiso in Persia 431. Ephesus (Third Ecumenical) 433. The Formula of Union 437. The 'Tome' of Proclus 448. Eutyches condemned at Constantinople 449. Ephesus ('The Robber Synod') 449. Rome 451. Chalcedon (Fourth Ecumenical) (Chalcedonian Definition)	408. Only Catholics to serve in the palace 415. Murder of Hypatia 415. Pagans barred from military and civil office 423. Law-abiding pagans and Jews not to be disturbed 451. Temples to remain closed; all pagan rites forbidden	400. Claudian <i>fl.</i> 412. Proclus (Neo- Platonist) b. 416. Rutilius Namatianus <i>fl.</i> 430. Zosimus <i>fl.</i> 460. Sidonius Apollinaris <i>fl.</i> (bishop of Clermont from 471)

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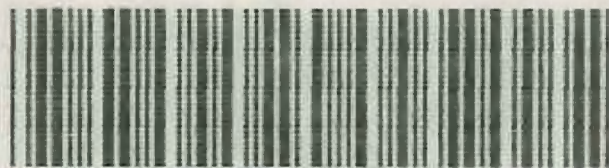
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